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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XVIII, NO. 38.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1908.

PRICE: TWO CENTS.

ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

SEEN IN PASSING

REMARKS AT RANDOM ON WEEK'S EVENTS.

Principle Versus Practice of Peace—
"Patriotic" Commercialism—The Real Meaning of "Assisting the Mining Industry"—In Denouncing the Corruptee Let Not the Corrupter Escape

Austria declares that all the powers are agreed in principle for peace. In practice, evidently, they are for war. This sounds very much like our plutocratic capitalists. In principle they agree that Labor has rights. In practice they are equally agreed that there are no such rights, at least, none that deserve respect.

Leslie M. Shaw, ex-Sec'y of the Treasury is hot in the dollar over the fact that sociology amounts to Socialism. "In the college and the university they teach sociology," he exclaims, and proceeds to admit mournfully mutinous, "Most of it is nothing but Socialism." Guess the colleges had better substitute the lectures on sociology with lectures on Mother Goose.

"Let us increase our Army and Navy!" is the patriotic exclamation with which the patriotic members of the Italian Chamber are punctuating their patriotic speeches against "the Austrian invasion of the Balkans." On the surface these Italian patriots, like patriots everywhere else, seem indignant at the conduct of the Power that causes their patriotic blood to boil. Looked below the surface gladness, the gladness of the tradesman who sees the prospect of a big sale, is easily perceived. An increase of Armies and Navies opens vistas of sales (wholesale) of shoes and clothes, of provisions and ammunitions, of notes and cheques. What bourgeois patriot can fail to expect at least a sprinkle of such "good times"? What bourgeois patriot would not be patriotic?

In a loose way the saying is current that the capitalist class owns the workers "body and soul." This is a rather hyperbolic way of expressing the thought of capitalist power. Hitherto, in accuracy, the capitalist owned only the body of the workers. Their souls still escaped him. If the discovery of M. d'Albe, revealed in London before the Dublin Society of Physical Research, is a true thing, then the workingman's soul is as sure to pass into the possession of the capitalist, and be listed among capitalist assets, as his body now is. M. d'Albe's theory is that the soul consists of a number of psychomeres, corpuscles that are opaque to ultra-violet light, and which, uniting after death, constitute the soul, and then float in the atmosphere. M. d'Albe explains that these bodies "have consciousness and power of locomotion," probably "derived from the ultra-violet rays of the sun." An Ultra-violet Sun Rays Trust would capture the souls. M. d'Albe's opinion that the soul body "lives cheaply" is an additional incentive for the new Trust.

Woe is the miners! A letter was received by the American Mining Congress, in session in Pittsburgh, Pa., from President-elect Taft expressing the opinion that the mining industry, "second only to agriculture in its contribution to national wealth, . . . deserves all the assistance which this government can render it." The "national wealth" which capitalist governments consider deserving of assistance is the plunder found in the pockets of the capitalist class. There is but one way of "assisting" this wealth—to turn the screws tighter on the workers. To assist that attitude of the "national wealth" found in the pockets of the toilers is "paternalism."

Gompers's forces in Congress seem to have melted away at the sight of Cannon with a unanimity borrowed from that with which Gompers's frowns are said to melt away at the sight of a glass of whiskey and soda. The appearance of Cannon at the Speaker's desk was the signal for an ovation in which Democrats vied with Republicans to "do honor to the head of the House."

The picture Gompers draws of himself in this month's "Federationist," when writing on "The Campaign and Labor's Future," is that of a clucking hen, all

in a flutter, aghast and amazed, unable to understand how her chicks, thought to be chicks, yet being ducks, take to the water, regardless of the maternal clucks of warning. Gompers clucked all through the campaign, warning his presumptive chicks against the Taft pool, and yet they rushed thither as "to the pool born." And indeed they were. Hatched to life under the Gompers wings of "Capital has Rights," what more natural than to expect from Gompers incubates but that they rush for shelter under the wings of the biggest capitalist, who, of course, must have the biggest Rights.

Congress—If, indeed, there is an element in Congress honestly anxious to ascertain where the \$40,000,000 went to which were appropriated to buy the Panama Canal—will have a hard row to hoe in its efforts to find out. When there is a \$40,000,000 loot there is ample means to cover up tracks, at least to render next to impossible the following of the trail of the "Pillars of Law and Order."

How much like the occasional financial reports of some of the "bulwarks of capitalism," the Gompers A. F. of L. Unions, does the financial portion of the Presidential annual message to Congress sound and look! When a "bulwark of capitalism" wants to conceal its present financial straits it lumps up the running lean year with by-gone fat ones and presents an imposing array of solvency. Likewise Roosevelt's message. It conceals a last seven months \$78,000,000 deficit under the cloak of a \$109,000,000 surplus for the previous seven years. The difference between the Roosevelt and the A. F. of L. officer dodge is only the difference between huge and petty swindle.

On the 13th of this month closed the fifth week since the date, Nov. 7, when the last so-called "Industrial Bulletin" turned up in this office. One of two things—either "Headquarters" have decided to prove the new faith of anarchy that is in them by issuing their organ regularly at irregular intervals; or the "Editor" considers that his editorial duties begin with pocketing his salary, and that the issuing of the paper is only a secondary editorial consideration, left dependent upon whether there is any cash left for such luxury.

Bad days are returning for the Socialist party man Mr. Robert Hunter's "old American stock." According to Mr. Hunter, the "degraded immigration" from Europe affected the productive powers of his beloved "old stock." The tide of that "degraded immigration" receded last year. The philoprogenitiveness of the "old stock" seemed to be in a fair way to recover its potency and fertility; when, lo, the tide of immigration returns to these shores, and dashes "old stock" expectancy into renewed "race suicide."

After having confirmed, in its examination before the Federal Referee Francis Franklin, the worst that has been said about its mercantile manipulations, the Standard Oil now proceeds to confirm that charge that Socialism has long been preferring against capitalism in general—the charge that it debauches even Science and Art. The batch of witnesses now dragged before the referee by the unspeakable Standard Oil to give it a "character" consists of "professors and experts in economics."

Now that so much pharisaic condemnation is being showered upon Croker by our moral plutocrats and their clerical retainers, and that these same gentlemen are showering so many praises upon the civic virtues of Cleveland, it were well that these censors of morals remembered and took to heart the, probably, only bold and wise thing Cleveland ever did or said. Addressing the Chamber of Commerce, shortly after his re-election, Cleveland pointedly remarked: "Gentlemen, there would be less corruption in politics if business men were more honest." Many a face blanched. Croker is a corrupter. Guiltier than the corruptee is the corrupter.

Among the "accidents," or "coincidences" of the season, Provisionally intended to prove that there is no such thing as an "accident," or a "coincidence," is the "accidental coincidence" of the Reichstag and of Congress both enraged, at the same time, at the "personal rule" system of the Chief Executive Roosevelt, slapping the face of

A WORD FOR THE ANARCHIST

The People needs not apologize for the above heading. Its posture towards Anarchy is established, and amply known. Anarchy, as a theory, is unresponsive to economic facts and social development. The economic law of civilization pushes towards the production of wealth in such abundance and, with such ease that man shall be freed of the animal burden of excessive toil for the necessities of life, along with the harrowing specter of want. Abundant production compels co-operation on a large scale. Large scale co-operation compels organization. Organization compels leadership, or be it central directing authority. The conception of An-Archy is at discord with facts.

In accord with this discord, and, consequently, even more irrational, is Anarchy in point of tactics. Deafness and blindness to the dictates of the requirements of organization leads to scattered individual action in the exercise of the Right requisite to enforce the Right of Mankind. By an inevitable chain of causes and effect, Anarchy drives to autonomous bomb-throwing—a phenomenon likewise unresponsive to facts.

Anarchy, accordingly, is at war with reason—So that switch is locked.

One more preliminary observation—There are two categories of people who call themselves "Anarchists," but who are eliminated from this article:

The first is the reptile element, of whom the police-spy and agent-provocateur are sub-species. These are the "Anarchists for revenue only," and may be dismissed.

The second is an element that might find fault with being at all mentioned together with the first. No stigma is meant to be put upon them. This element, with fully a score of whose members this office is personally acquainted, are, in point of character, the most lovable of men and women. Honor is their badge. An unclean act is not imaginable

from them. Due, however, to some unexplainable kink in their minds "Anarchy" to them is neither a social or economic theory, nor yet a theory of tactics. With them "Anarchy" is a code of abstract ethics—just that and nothing more—and, stranger yet, that code is fully subscribed to by Socialism, as old as the hills, and is in no way a product of Anarchy.

These two categories of Anarchists are not under consideration.

The Anarchist here under consideration is only the species which ignores the dictates of economic and social facts; the species which, instead of adapting its aspirations to facts, seeks to mold facts into agreement with its aspirations; in short, the species which, sincerely aspiring after and laboring for an An-Archistic state of things, will listen only to the "bomb argument," and repudiates political action, with its consequence of "parliamentarism."

Strange as it may seem at first blush there is a word to be said for these erring men—the Anarchist, proper.

The Anarchist, proper, is not wholly the product of his own mistaken premises. The Anarchist, proper, is partly the product of a certain Socialist element, hard to distinguish from the capitalists whom Edward Bellamy pictures comfortably sitting in a coach and critically discussing the condition of the people who are harnessed thereto, and drag it with the sweat of their brow and their lives, besides. Two letters received by this office will illustrate the point.

Our two correspondents admit the inferiority, intellectual and otherwise, of Mr. Morris Hillquit to cope with the capitalists in Congress; but, say they, "Hillquit's suave manners would make him friends in Congress, where others might make enemies"; and one of them adds: "His [Hillquit's] financially easy

circumstances would put him on a level with the other Congressmen."

It is just such notions, entertained by Socialists, that, falling upon the ears of a class-conscious workingman, will unless he is otherwise well balanced, cause him to wash out the bath with the baby—angrily discard political action, and as angrily fall into the ways of the Anarchist proper. It is a case of healthy instinct instinctively rebelling against Error, but carried to false conclusions by the very shock that the Error gives.

"Bravery," so runs the Spanish proverb, "does not exclude courtesy." But courtesy is one thing, smirking another. A Socialist has no business to "make friends" with the foe. The foe can never be converted. All that a Socialist should earn from the foe is his respect and fear—his friendship is but a bribe, a narcotic at best. The bane of parliamentarism is the temptation to ingratiate. To the temptation even a sturdy man may succumb—the smirker has succumbed in advance. The boldest warriors are the most courteous; the suave are the weakest, if they are not downright cravens.

The Anarchist, proper, consciously or unconsciously realizes the insidious poison, that parliamentarism infiltrates its members with. The Anarchist, proper, wrongly mistrusts even his own power, let alone others, to remain immune in such an atmosphere. The Anarchist, proper, is confirmed in his mistaken views by such Socialists' utterances as quoted above, backed as they are by such Socialists' conduct as the American Movement already has furnished in Haverrill and in the Massachusetts Legislature, and as it is furnishing now in Wisconsin.

It is this healthy instinct of the Anarchist, proper, that deserves a word in his behalf. It is the instinct that keeps Socialism hale—and warns it against "suavity."

THE VOTE.

Of the S. L. P. and the S. P. The official reports from the Secretaries of State received up to date at this office register the below figures as the poll of the S. L. P. and the S. P. From day to day, as the official reports are received, they will be registered on the two lists.

States.	S. L. P.	1904	1908
Arizona	69	608
Connecticut	575	1,080
Illinois	4,698	643
Indiana	1,598	404
Kentucky	596	1,011
Massachusetts	2,359	874
Minnesota	1,674	1,196
Missouri	974	721
New Jersey	2,680	1,222
Ohio	2,633	183
Pennsylvania	2,211	176
Rhode Island	488	25
Texas	421	
Virginia	56	
Total	20,963	8,906
A decrease of 12,157.			

States.	S. P.	1904	1908
Arizona	1,304	1,912
California	29,535	28,659
Colorado	4,304	7,974
Connecticut	4,543	5,113
Delaware	146	239
Florida	2,337	3,447
Idaho	4,949	6,400
Illinois	60,225	34,711
Indiana	12,013	13,476
Iowa	14,847	8,287
Kentucky	3,002	4,080
Maine	2,108	1,758
Maryland	2,247	2,323
Massachusetts	13,604	10,778
Minnesota	11,692	14,471
Mississippi	393	978
Missouri	13,009	15,431
New Hampshire	1,690	1,209
New Jersey	9,587	10,253
Ohio	36,200	33,705
Pennsylvania	21,803	33,913
Rhode Island	956	1,365
South Carolina	22	100
South Dakota	3,138	2,846
Texas	2,791	7,870
Vermont	868
Virginia	218	255
West Virginia	1,512	3,670
Wyoming	1,077	1,715
Total	269,295	257,107
A decrease of 12,188.			
The 1904 vote of the S. L. P. was—			
34,172.			
The 1904 vote of the S. P. was—			
408,230.			

SHIPPERS FIGHT RAILROADS.

California Merchants Form Association to War on Carriers—Want Municipal Ownership.

San Francisco, Cal., December 6. — The manufacturers and shippers generally throughout the State have been goaded into organization by the throttling clutch of the railroads.

Meeting in the Merchants' Exchange, representatives of all the important shippers' interests, formed the "California Traffic Association" and, after sev-

eral hours of heated discussion, an executive committee was appointed and a preamble adopted which was little else but a covert ultimatum and declaration of war.

Both the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe railroad companies are to be asked to remove the high rate shackles which have grown ever heavier year by year. A few years ago the rate was 60 cents a hundred, now it has soared to 85 cents a hundred. It was pointed out that concentration and consolidation have greatly reduced the cost of operation.

A further grievance discussed was the arbitrary raising of the minimum car load weight from 24,000 pounds to 40,000 pounds. Here the claim was made and apparently substantiated that irreparable havoc would be wrought in the various industries of the State. Especially, it was pointed out that California, being an agricultural State and that fresh and preserved fruits and vegetables were her most important products for export, she necessarily depended on the Eastern markets for disposal. This being the case, high freight rates spell ruin for the farming and canning interests of the State.

G. J. Bradley, the newly elected secretary, addressed the Association and demonstrated with fact and figure that the railroads are reaping fabulous returns. In speaking of the railroads' dividends, he showed the whole process of stock watering and the deceptive statistics that are thus generated. Further, he proved beyond all question the secret connection existing between all the railroads and shipping concerns and their connivance to elevate rates.

A resolution favoring the municipal ownership of common carriers both on sea and on land, was brought in. The delegates to a man favored it, but decided to take no definite action until they hear how the railroads receive their protest. (The Socialist Party should find enthusiastic recruits there.) The shippers have fashioned the municipal ownership cudgel and are merely waiting for the railroads' refusal to lower rates before they take up this powerful club.

No matter if the economic war is declared or not; no matter how the struggle would terminate; no matter if municipal ownership should be the outcome; the proletariat would still have its chains alone to lose.

H. L. — When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend

JUNGLE TRADITIONS

Of Present Competitive System Arraigned by Zuehlín.

Prof. Charles Zuehlín, the sociologist and reformer, delivered before the Ethical Culture Society at Carnegie Hall, Sunday, December 13, what was decidedly the best lecture he has given during his present four weeks' in New York. His subject for the day was "Education and Life." He said, in part:

"The present waste of life is appalling. It is the crime of civilization that there are so many men dying their hair in search of employment, because the sign of age would be a hindrance to them. The number of absolutely worn-out men at 35 and 40 is one of the shameful accompaniments of 20th century progress. What are we taking to prevent this awful falling by the wayside, while we sweep on toward fuller life—for some people?"

"We have learned to live in a climate that is very hot in summer and very cold in winter. We have heat in winter, and ice in summer. But think of the millions who never have either ice or heat, who are never warm in winter or comfortable in summer. Here is a city of nearly 5,000,000, with a concentration of wealth never before known in history. Yet untold numbers are in want, squalor and discomfort.

"You will say 'These people are shiftless, have no ideals.' Perhaps; but how about the children whom we permit to be born in dirt? We have no right to permit any child to be born in squalid surroundings. The future society will see to it that every child is well-born.

"While our favored youth are increasing in size and vigor, what of the ruthless destruction of life half way down the social ladder? Over half the human life that starts to be, never gets beyond the fifth year. We are familiar with the awful destruction of life that goes on in the animal world; but are we always to be manacled to the traditions of the jungle and the sea?"

"We are missing the best of life, largely because of our brute selfishness to others. The hazards of the present ruthless competitive system crush us all down. No man can live a full normal life in a city like New York, in the midst of thousands who are just hanging on to the ragged edge.

"Why should women, with so intense a maternal instinct that they will lay down their lives to give their offspring life, be dependent for their right to maternity upon the chance of getting a man to support them? If a woman is granted by nature a yearning and a capacity for bearing children, why should she not have them? We should work for a system of society in which children will not be made dependent for their right-to-be, upon the chance earnings of the father.

"But the best spiritual interests of the child can only be served in the home, where father and mother live together in mutual love. Why there should not be organized a system of society in which everyone should have abundant security and leisure, I can not understand."

POUREN DEFENSE CONFERENCE.

Enters Upon Campaign to Protect Russian Political Refugees.

At the meeting, Dec. 7, of the Executive Committee of the Pouden Defense Conference, N. Y., Prof. J. A. Hourwich made an exhaustive report of the extradition proceedings in Chicago, in which Commissioner Foote rendered a decision against Christian Rudowitz and held witness Juraw for contempt of Court, because the witness refused to answer questions of the counsel for Russia as to the names of certain active revolutionists who are still within the Czar's domain. The Chicago Committee will not only take appeals in both cases, but will also call for the assistance of every liberty-loving element in the United States in protesting this monstrous outrage.

It was decided to arrange for a large protest meeting in N. Y. city at the earliest possible date and a committee with full power.

From the Pouden Defense League of San Francisco, Cal., the first financial contribution of \$98.35 was received.

The vigorous prosecution of the various cases now pending in Court, and of the campaign against the Treaty itself will require considerable funds. Friends and sympathizers are asked to send contributions to the treasurer, Dr. Paul S. Kaplan, 230 East Broadway, N. Y. city.

THINGS ENGLISH

GRAYSON AS A REVOLUTIONARY FALLS SHORT.

Made Election Campaign on Reform Platform—Women's Suffrage Movement Reactionary in Tendency—Limited Votes—Justice Wanting.

Heywood, England, November 29. — There are some things regarding Victor Grayson, M.P., and also regarding the women's enfranchisement movement here which will be of information to readers of The People. As regards Victor Grayson, M.P., I do not wish to underrate the effect or the value of his recent protest in Parliament re unemployment. I simply desire to let your readers know a little more about the man as we know him here. His election address was of the usual reform character, putting up Land Reform for the petty bourgeoisie, woman's enfranchisement as against adult enfranchisement, in order to catch the women's sympathy, abolition of the House of Lords to suit the ultra-Radical and what not to suit all kinds; but "unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class"? Oh, dear, no! Oh, dear, no! Not at all. That would have availed of the "fanatical" S. L. P.

His election address was a denial of the International Socialist slogan: "Socialism is the ONLY hope of the workers." He held out the rainbow, elusive vanishing hope of Reform, and his calling himself a REVOLUTIONARY Socialist is only another of his fly-paper to catch and help the support of a Revolutionary element in the working class.

He is known of old to the S. L. P.-era and before he rose to his present eminence as an M.P. he was challenged to debate because he had repudiated the "class struggle," but no debate came off. He backed out. That he still adheres to his repudiation of the class struggle, I can afford proof of in two statements he has made since he became an M.P.

In the "Manchester Guardian" of the 24th of July, 1907, Grayson is reported to have stated—and subsequent statements of his bear it out—"He believed that the conscientious and educated capitalist could see no salvation FOR HIS CLASS other than in the advancement of Socialist principles." He is really an advocate of State ownership, which he labels Socialism.

This medicine he wishes the working class to swallow and wash down with the small beer of revolutionary phrases which are not very revolutionary.

Just recently in the Grand Opera House, Bury, Mr. Manchester, on Sunday, 22nd November, 1908, Grayson said that they were not out to hate the capitalist class, and he threw the responsibility for the evils of capitalism on the workers. He also said that Socialism was not a question of getting possession of the means of life but it was a matter of intellectual instinct. In fact, he is a sentimentalist out and out, and only adopts militant tactics, to try and call attention of the capitalist class to the evil plight of the working class and force the conservative element to do something to make the workers better-fed wage slaves, better educated wage slaves, but still wage slaves. At least, all his reform platform does not lead to any more.

Woman's Movement Reactionary.

As regards the Women's Enfranchisement Movement, this is one of the reforms which constitute a veiled reaction when examined closely. These reformers do not intend to give the vote to women but only to some women, and the law they intend to introduce will give more votes to the middle and upper class women than to the working class women.

The relative strengths of the capitalist class and the working class at the ballot box will be altered. The working class may gain a little in voting power absolutely, but the capitalist—upper and middle class—will gain far more in proportion. Hence the working class will be relatively weaker.

Some of The People readers may ask how this will come about. Well, the new law proposes to give the vote to women on the SAME TERMS AS IT IS GIVEN TO MEN; that is to say, on a property qualification. You must rent a house before you can have a vote.

Now, the majority of working class

(Continued on Page 2, Column 4.)

NAPOLEON DITCHED

The Francis-St. John Debate in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, December 9.—I will endeavor to give a short account of the debate between St. John and Francis in Philadelphia last Sunday. It ought to go down in history as "Napoleon St. John at Waterloo, Phila." If all of the locals of the I. W. W. now in doubt as to their attitude towards the Patterson Conference, could only have heard it, I have no doubt that the "Pirates" would be more completely out of business than they are even now.

In making the arrangements for the debate L. Basky discovered that there would be no meeting unless St. John was allowed an advantage. "Napoleon" was afraid to debate otherwise.

On consulting Francis, who refused to meet St. John except in debate, Basky was told by Francis: "Give him everything; I have the facts, and I want to get them before the members."

The terms of the debate were: Subject—"Resolved, That the Fourth Annual Convention of the I. W. W., held in Chicago, was not in the interest of Industrial Unionism." Francis, in favor, St. John, against the resolution; Francis to speak forty-five minutes, St. John forty-five minutes; Francis twenty minutes, St. John twenty minutes. Questions from the audience to be allowed for fifteen minutes to Francis, and fifteen minutes to St. John.

The meeting was in the large hall of the Hungarian S. L. Federation and opened at 3 p. m. Harry Davis, secretary of the Industrial District Council of Philadelphia was in the chair. The active spirits from most of the locals were present.

Francis being called on he took the floor and started to give a short history of events leading up to the convention. St. John raised an objection on the ground that what had happened in New York or elsewhere had nothing to do with the subject. Francis retorted that it was his time and if he did not use it to good effect it would be to the advantage of the other side. He was allowed to proceed.

Francis showed how a clique in New York headed by Williams and Connolly had absolutely wrecked the I. W. W. there, and how he had attempted to frustrate their efforts, justifying himself in accepting support from the Anarchist element in the Council for that purpose. Proceeding thereupon from events in New York to events in Chicago, and after showing the efforts that had been made by Headquarters to prevent him getting there, he told how it was with the utmost difficulty that he and others found out where the Convention was to be held. On one occasion he visited headquarters to get the information and then the assault occurred which readers of The People know of. Francis touched very lightly on this, only bringing out the point that this was their last desperate chance to keep him out of the Convention of which they took full advantage, and they were surprised to find him applying for a seat when the convention opened. Every statement made by Francis was backed up by documentary evidence. He read extracts from letters signed by St. John and Trautmann which bore out every charge he made.

St. John in reply showed he was knocked out. He showed by his manner that he was totally unprepared for the attack made by Francis. He was in the air, but he braced it out. He made no attempt to answer Francis on the New York situation as the documents were there in full force. He attempted to show from figures that the charges of mismanagement were not true because even in the face of the panic there was an increase in revenue and membership. He also made some charges against R. Katz but produced no proof to back them up, merely stating that he had "seen the proof." He had a good deal to say about "that hoary headed old stiff at 28 City Hall Place who knows less about the labor movement than any single individual in it." He also made a short defence of Stodel, in these words: "The device as explained to me does for electric light what a mantle does for gas light." He ignored the fact that people had been arrested and fined for using the device. This reminds me of the judge who, when asking the usual question and being answered, "not guilty," said, "Go home then. What are you doing here?" On the whole the forty-five minutes were wasted as it seemed to me that the audience didn't know what he was driving at.

The second time Francis took the floor he showed how after he (Francis) became secretary of the District Council of New York, more money

had been sent to Chicago than ever before, and invited the audience to inspect the receipts. Answering the charge of playing football with Local 179 he read a document from Trautmann telling him that a local must have ten members to hold a charter. Acting on this he had distributed the members to different locals and declared the local defunct. He read another document from St. John telling him that "Trautmann had misinterpreted the action of the G. E. B." and ordering him to restore the charter. Francis asked the audience: "Which was I to do? Obey the Secretary or the Assistant Secretary?" He also touched upon the changing of the preamble showing how ridiculous St. John's claim was that the exclusion of Francis and De Leon did not give them control or rather was not necessary to give them control. The change was carried by three votes. Francis alone was entitled to eight votes.

St. John in closing tried to show that the I. W. W. in cutting out the political clause, did not repudiate political action and then tried to show that the economic organization alone was sufficient; his brightest gem of logic being: "You claim that the economic organization is the most important and yet you must have a political shield. Then which is most important. That which shields or that which is shielded?"—so the soldier is less important than his shield. Then again: "Nothing you put on paper can protect you. The capitalist class will shoot you down any way."

When questions were called for L. Basky asked Francis if it was true, as stated, that the Patterson Conference had nothing but a paper organization? Francis replied by reading the call for the Conference signed by ten locals, the list of locals endorsing the call up to the list of November; and from a circular issued by the Administration elected by the Conference, Francis read a list of locals endorsing acts of the Conference and contributing financial support. The reply was greeted with applause.

Another question was: "Why did you secede?" This gave Francis a chance to show that the action was not one of secession but of re-organization, inasmuch as the "Pirates" had ridden over the constitution roughshod, thereby reading themselves out of the organization, leaving the I. W. W. without an administration and making the Conference absolutely necessary.

Francis was also asked to detail the assault, which he then did.

St. John being asked if Francis's account was correct stated that it was a personal matter which he would "settle with Francis at some later date. Anybody that wanted to know should have had a moving picture taken." Someone in the audience remarked that as St. John and his fellows had arranged the assault they ought also to have provided the moving picture apparatus.

Anton asked which were the ten locals that were claimed to have endorsed the call for referendum taken just before the convention, on not holding a convention. St. John replied that they had been published in the Bulletin and were also reported at the Convention.

Anton then asked what issue of the Bulletin they had been published in, stating that according to the statement he read, only six had endorsed and four more were expected to endorse when the referendum was issued. St. John tried to take charge of the meeting at this point, refusing to answer Anton until he showed his card. This caused some dissent from most of the audience, and his time being up St. John seemed relieved, but a motion by Basky and Parker to extend the time brought forth more objections from St. John. Half a dozen were now on their feet, some wanting to know if he was afraid of questions. After a wrangle lasting several minutes the chair ruled the motion in order and questions proceeded.

I asked St. John if the G. E. B. had supported Williams in his refusal to obey its instructions to proceed to Philadelphia after a short stay in New York early in the year. He replied that no such instructions were ever given. Anton stated that Williams asked him to try and get him a job as Philadelphia was to be his stamping ground when he returned in three or four weeks. I then asked St. John if he knew that in the spring Davis, Secretary of the District Council of Philadelphia and Mullen, Secretary of Local 218, were in receipt of advice from Trautmann that he had instructed Williams to "proceed to Philadelphia at once." I stated also that when in New York Williams had shown me his instructions to that effect. St. John denied that these documents existed, or had been sent, whereupon Mullen and Davis vouched for the correctness of my statements. St. John

THE VOICE OF THE S. L. P.

Goes Up from the Russian Social Democratic "Proletari."

The "Proletari" [Proletarian] is the organ of the St. Petersburg and Moscow Committees of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Its editor is Lenin, the Russian Social-Democratic member on the International Socialist Bureau. In its issue of last Nov. 14th, the "Proletari" contains a double-column article headed "Bankruptcy of American Neutrality." After commenting on the attitude of the A. F. of L. in the late campaign, and paying its respects to S. Gompers and Co., the article passes to political pure-and-simplesdom, and has the following to say:

"In its chase after votes of 'sympathizers,' the Socialist party has not even in its platform called Socialism by its name, but designated it descriptively. After enumerating the glaring examples of cruel class-war, waged by capital, the Socialist party vehemently underscores the theory that the ballot is the main weapon. Capitalists against us with the guns' muzzles; we against them with ballots. Trying to cater to the practical instinct (practicism) of the American workingman, the Socialist party, on the one hand, holds out the prospect that even a few Congressmen can do something; and, on the other hand, it puts up its candidates at elections for Governors and other officials. It is in this replacement, through elections, of each and every governmental post that the party sees, it seems, the route to the 'seizure' of all the functions of the State. A field for compromises, indeed, extending far beyond the horizon of vision. It goes without saying, that with regard to other methods of struggle, besides elections, and with regard to the Social Revolution as a transition to Socialism, the platform of the Socialist rather keeps mum. With such views common to the Socialist 'Peaceful Renovation' [the two last words are the name of a semi-reactionary Russian political group—Translator], and with an 'electionary' mental make-up, the Socialist party looks at a presidential campaign not as a means for agitation, but as a way to get into their hands the highest power in the State. A standpoint very naive, indeed. With the immense power of a President, who appoints his Cabinet ministers, responsible to himself alone, and who recently was given, in addition, the right to call to arms hundreds of thousands of American citizens (to fight strikers, to be sure), the capitalists would have it in their power not to admit the seating of a Socialist president-elect. The election of a Socialist to the presidency would be the signal either for the Social Revolution, capital having taken the offensive, or for the bankruptcy of the Socialist party, if it remains only an election party of peaceful change."

then stated that Williams had not received any money from Headquarters and that was probably his reason for not going to Philadelphia.

I managed to get the floor long enough to tell that Williams at the time of showing me his instructions also told me that he had also got \$15, but absolutely refused to go to Philadelphia. St. John seeing himself cornered said: "I remember that \$15. I sent him that myself with instructions to remain in New York as long as in his judgment there was any need for him there." This admission lets in the light on the whole situation.

More questions were still coming after this but the chairman summarily closed the meeting without voting on the resolution or giving any one a chance to move an extension of time.

After the meeting I asked a member of one of the locals what he thought of St. John, now, and his reply was, "He is all that he charges Francis with being." This member up till Sunday was St. John's strongest supporter in Philadelphia.

Both St. John and Francis were invited to speak before the French Textile Workers' Local. St. John declined on the ground that he had a meeting to go to, although he had previously stated that he could stay and answer questions all night. And what meeting could it be that even the secretary of the District Council did not know about? Francis accepted the invitation and went to Kensington and spoke to the Frenchmen.

This account is from a few notes taken and can be borne out without any difficulty if any one of the points is questioned by St. John.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
Robert McClure,
G. E. B. Member, I. W. W.

THINGS ENGLISH.

(Continued from page 1.)

women are married, and they do not rent a house; their husband does that and hence they will have no vote. Or if they are not married they then live with their parents, or at least do not rent a house of their own. No vote for them either. But the capitalist class, you say, would be exactly the same. Not so. The capitalist can rent or own a number of houses and he can put them in the name of all his various female relatives not forgetting his mistresses, all of whom will sustain him and his robbery of the workers by voting for capitalism at the ballot box.

At the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 the petty bourgeoisie and manufacturing capitalist class were compelled to include a portion of the workers as recipients of the franchise which they could not wrest from the landed aristocracy otherwise, but now having reached dominance in society, and fearing the workers' revolutionary ballot, they seek by this reform of women's enfranchisement (strictly it should be called Capitalist Women's Enfranchisement), a veiled REACTION, to weaken the working class in a manner they dare not do openly, for such would create such an uproar in the country amongst these workers that trouble would ensue for their tyrannical masters.

There could not be a more clever case of REFORM being in essence VEILED REACTION.

We, the revolutionary workers in the S. L. P., conscious of our class interests, laugh to scorn any promise that they (i. e., the women enfranchisement supporters) will give any further reforms later to the working class if the latter will only help them now. Once bitten, twice shy. We know them, the glib-tongued politicians of old. Besides, it is a class struggle. We are not going to give our opponents any advantage, for they will only use it against us.

Justice Gons Astray.

In this town of Heywood there is a company called the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Wagon Company, and recently the manager embezzled \$50,000 (\$300,000). He was given six months' imprisonment. At or about the same time a woman stole one penny (two cents). She was given five years' penal servitude.

The woman appealed, but the Judge's (Sir Ralph Liddle) decision was upheld by Mr. Justice Channell, Mr. Justice Phillimore, and Mr. Justice Walton. The report says: "Without calling upon counsel for the Crown the Court dismissed the appeal." Mr. Justice Channell defended his action in dismissing the appeal on the ground that "IT WAS PART OF A SYSTEMATIC SERIES OF FRAUDS," but the same exactly was the case in the \$300,000 man. These defalcations and embezzlements are part of a systematic series of frauds. JUSTICE is said to be blind. I am afraid the one side of the handkerchief has slipped down.

Wm. G. Allan.

DOCUMENTS FOR HISTORICAL

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 3, 1908.

Daniel De Leon.

New York City.

Dear Comrade:

A few days ago I received several copies of the "Wahrheit" of November 3rd, also a letter from Henry Traurig.

A letter like this naturally demands some sort of an explanation. I have not replied to the same, nor have I as much as acknowledged receipt as yet. I have shown it to several members of our section and they are anxious to have some explanation.

Below is an exact copy of the letter:

"I suppose you remember his (De Leon's) argument of two years ago, when Hillquit ran for the first time in the ninth congressional district. He accused them of having placed watchers on the streets for the purpose of teaching voters how to split their tickets in favor of Hillquit. The S. L. P. replied that they did not do so, but that it was the Professional League, an independent organization favoring Hillquit's election) which did so, and that they (the S. P.) could not control the acts of this league. Well, De Leon replied that they should at least have repudiated such acts, etc., which the S. L. P. would surely have done, and consider it its duty to do.

"Another argument which he advanced this year against the S. P. was that the Times and Post of this city boomed Hillquit, because they wrote up an account of the situation in the 9th district. The charge is of course false. They didn't boom him at all; they merely wrote up the situation, an act that is a frequent occurrence for capitalist papers to do to Socialist parties. I merely remind you of his arguments, so as to enable you to better judge how it comes that De Leon, nor the S. L. P. have as yet repudiated the 'Wahrheit's' booming of De Leon in the campaign just closed. Under separate cover I send you some copies of this paper which I have underlined. See Pages 1 and 6. On the former it addresses and shows the voters how to split an S. P. ticket and vote for De Leon. On the latter page it contains a paid ad. from Tammany Hall. There's no question about this at all. This ad. was run during the whole campaign. The 'Wahrheit' boasted De Leon right along, and not a word of repudiation from the S. L. P. or De Leon, for fear no doubt of losing a few of the small vote they got—97 for the head of the ticket and 157 for De Leon, after devoting almost all their time and men to that district only and neglecting the entire city. They've degenerated into a lot of vote-catchers in spite of their strenuous denials. They've conducted what is known here as a 'personal campaign'; told the crowd that De Leon is a professor and this and that, and that he gets only \$12 per.

"Oh, yes, I forgot to say, Tammany you know is very strong in this district, Hillquit was a factor, although I guess he wasn't fool enough to expect to be elected. It certainly will surprise some S. L. P. men to see Tammany use them against the S. P. in this manner.

"Henry Traurig,

"741 E. 5th St.,

"New York,

"N. Y."

"(Formerly member of S. L. P.)"

"Hope you will distribute these for information of those interested."

We have reserved all action and criticism until we have an explanation from headquarters.

Yours fraternally,

Frank P. Janke.

DAILY PEOPLE,

New York, Dec. 9, 1908.

Frank P. Janke,

Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Comrade:

That Traurig letter is an insult—to you. A many-sided insult.

The insults it implied is the taking of you for so unalter a Party member as not to be likely to detect its obvious mendacity; the taking of you for a man so impossible upon as would not detect its slime and flim-flam; and the taking of you for so inexperienced a man as to give a minute's attention to the whisperings of a perfect stranger against one whom, whatever opinion you may otherwise entertain of his "democracy" or "tyranny," as the case may be, you never had reason to question his integrity, or ever did.

The allegations made against me in the letter are known by readers of The People to be substantially untrue. Directly and indirectly most of the matters have come up in these columns all along and have been disposed of.

Readers of The People know that the articles in the capitalist papers about Hillquit boomed him. They know that those papers did not "merely write up the situation" as "an act that is of frequent occurrence for a capitalist

paper to do to Socialist parties." Readers of The People know the bitter language that the capitalist press used in "writing up the situation" with regard to the S. L. P. in general, and with regard to the S. L. P. campaign in the Ninth Congressional District in particular. Readers of The People are aware that the capitalist, especially the Republican and covertly Taft press, wrote with positive enthusiasm about the S. P. generally, and especially so about the S. P. in the Ninth Congressional District. Readers of The People know that, besides numerous references made in The People to this fact, and to the supplementary fact of the vicious language used by the same press towards the S. L. P., The People of Oct. 14 reproduced in full a column-long article from a Taft paper, the "New York Evening Post," which exuberantly proclaimed the magnificent (!) chances of Hillquit's election, and which "wrote up the situation" as to the S. L. P. by throwing out the slur that I, the S. L. P. candidate, was in the pay of Tammany. Readers of The People know all this.

Likewise do readers of The People know that "Wahrheit" is an independent S. P. paper, which, in this campaign, for instance, supported the S. P. national ticket, but opposed the local S. P. candidates of the District (Congressional and Assembly) for the good and sufficient S. L. P. reason that they, Hunter and Hillquit at the head of them, were anti-immigrationists.

What readers of The People may not be posted on is the matter of the advertisement stated to have appeared in "Wahrheit"—but the tone of the letter should be enough to warn any one that its writer is a falsifier with an animus. The rattle of the rattlesnake should give warning of the snake.

On this particular head, it is not true that the said Tammany ad. "was run during the whole of the campaign" in "Wahrheit." It is true that the ad. appeared for a time. But even this truth is of the nature of that worst of falsehoods which consist in telling a half truth. The whole truth is that several times during the campaign "Wahrheit" contained Republican party advertisements as well. This part of the truth your correspondent found it necessary to suppress. It injured his "Tammany theory."

We of the S. L. P. condemn the taking of capitalist political advertisements by a Socialist paper. But the taking of a Tammany ad. does not make "Wahrheit" a Tammany agent, seeing the paper took Republican ads. as well. While disapproving of "Wahrheit's" ethics in the matter of its business (ad. department) there was no occasion to repudiate its endorsement of my candidature. "Wahrheit" did not only recommend the defeat of the S. P. reactionists in the District, it urged support for the S. L. P. congressional candidate with editorial, reportorial and other articles that were everything but "booms," such as Hillquit and his colleagues were receiving from the Republican press. It took leaf after leaf from S. L. P. principles on matters of immigration, and thereby contributed powerfully toward the education imparted by the S. L. P. in the district, the crushing results of which upon the Hillquits is justly a sore spot with the Traurigs.

It is not true that the entire city was neglected for the Ninth Congressional District. Never before did we have so strong a campaign throughout the city. It was strongest in that District for good and effective reasons.

It is not true that the S. L. P. campaign was a "personal campaign" in my behalf. Readers of The People are acquainted with the literature spread in the District. Its high tone and principles struck the keynote for the addresses there delivered by the Party speakers. The only ones who tried to lower the campaign to their own low level, by making it a personal one, were the Traurigs and Bohns, together with their recently adopted fellow S. P. men. Personal calumny against me filled the air—and helped to brace me up. Among other things the bunch circulated the slander that I was paid by Tammany and even mentioned the amount—only it was never the same. A Party member, Mayer Goldsmith, having heard the charge as emanating from Bohn, wrote to him for a written statement. Bohn, characteristically, slipped through the danger of a manful, and written and open accusation, and denied the whole thing. Nevertheless, he and his fellows continued to whisper the same slander—a slander with which my ears have grown familiar since Kangaroo, and subsequent Kangleit days, and which varies according to the season—one day it being the Republicans, another the Democrats, who furnish me cash.

The tone of Traurig's letter should be sufficient to characterize the gentleman in general. More specifically, he seems to be the Secretary of a Bureau of Guttersnipes consisting in this city of a bunch, some of whom falsified the Party documents, all of whom plotted with "Bush Temple Headquarters" to

capture the Party and its press, and most of whom, Bohn and Traurig among the job lot—one-time pretenders to loyalty to S. L. P. principles, and subsequent pretenders that the I. W. W. was all-sufficient—are now rooters for the anti-I. W. W. S. P., with no greater cause to serve than their sores for the complete collapse of their intrigue to scuttle the Daily People plant, and thereby the Party itself.

I repeat, in closing, Traurig's letter is an insult to you—an insult that "naturally demands," not an explanation from me, but a demand from you for an explanation by him how he dares pick you out as a centre for the distribution of his reptile poison.

Yours fraternally,

DANIEL DE LEON.

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The International Tuberculosis Exhibition

By S. D. L.

A mile of irony!

That is what the International Tuberculosis Exhibition, now open at the Museum of Natural History, is, with its 120,000 square feet or so of floor space, and its other hundreds of thousands of square feet of wall space, stretching out to eight good American furlongs in all; eight good furlongs filled with impossible advice to the workingman.

Impossible, because the very things warned against, and correctly so, are absolutely impossible for the workingman or any member of a workingman's family to avoid; and those things emphasized and correctly so, as preventives and cures of the plague that carries off 200,000 persons in this country yearly are absolutely impossible for the proletarian to perform.

"The keynote of the exhibition is: 'Tuberculosis can be cured.'—So read the posters. And so in truth it is; with that keynote pounded so hard that that other deeper heavier keynote in counterpoint to this, namely, How comes tuberculosis at all to go stalking through our midst snipping short needed lives?—that keynote is almost, if not quite, drowned out.

Be it by design or accident—and it certainly looks the former—admitted by those in charge it must be, that the center aisles and booths, where the main crowd will roll unpyrrhly by, are in large part given up to glowing exhibits of all that is being done to cure tuberculosis; while only in side-issues and wind-alleys, in out-of-the-way places where none but the most hardy and persevering will arrive, are displayed all that is NOT being done to prevent tuberculosis.

Still, the Exhibition is well worth traveling far to see; and if rightly noted and pondered, will richly repay repeated days of careful visiting.

As one enters the 77th street vestibule of the Museum and walks to his left, about the first corner of the Exhibition to meet his gaze is a glass case containing smaller glass cases and jars in which are a tuberculous spine, a kidney, a stomach, a heart, as well as several lungs, teaching better than a yard of printing could do, that this dread disease may attack any organ of the body. This too is always well attended.

Passing on, after due study, we encounter a strange sight. It is as if some one had taken an armful of long black hat-pins and tried to see how close he could stick them in certain portions of a map. Going nearer, we find it is a map of Elmhurst, N. Y., and every black pin marks the approximate location of a death from tuberculosis between January 1, 1890 and December 31, 1907. There are 989 of those wicked-looking black pins; and every one seems to be piercing your bosom as you gaze; for if you know

the city of Elmhurst, you will also know that the thickest handfuls of those black pins bristle accusingly out from the working class districts. A curious sidelight, too, is thrown on the relation of crime to disease by the fact that upwards of 75 of the pins are jabbed into the N. Y. State Reformatory.

Heart-piercing swarms of pins are also the maps of Poughkeepsie, 920 deaths in the same period; Albany, 1804 deaths since 1900; Schenectady, 664 in ten years; Auburn, 487 in the same time; Troy, likewise, 1708. And ever as we go, the map guide, or our own knowledge, or the awestruck conversation about us of those who have been there, tell that the thickest arrays of pins invariably mark the dense centers of proletarian habitation.

But is this another case of bemoaning a wrong far away to hush up one close at hand? Are these upstate cities exhibited to take one's attention away from New York? Not so, for here across the aisle, is the map of New York. At first sight we stand frozen; then a horrible curiosity draws us closer to see whether our "black" be free from a damning pin. Few are those that are; and down town on the lower East Side, the very streets fairly disappear under the multitude of black heads. Only those cases reported to the Charity Organization Association are marked; and the total number is nowhere given. But what need of numbers, when the thing itself strikes you a sledgehammer blow between the eyes?

Passing briefly by the exhibit of the Nathan Straus milk work, good enough in its way, and ducking into this alcove, close at hand, we begin to see why those funeral pins cluster ever so thickly about workingmen's quarters. Here is a photograph of a sweatshop, fifty men bent low over their sewing-machines, while the clock points an unholy hour in the morning; the windows, too, are sealed down. "The unending task of finishing pants," is another picture: mother and father, son of 14, daughter of 12 and daughter of 7 straining eye and nerve over a massive heap of work that must go back to the shop next day. Dark rooms untouched by ray of sunlight or breath of air are shown—300,000 of them are still used as bed rooms in this city. Dark and dusty halls, tenements sans court or airshaft, cellar bakeries, overcrowded and ill-ventilated work shops, all picture forth their lesson—could it but be used when learned! For how is a workingman going to pick out a model shop to work in, or model tenement to live in, when jobs are scarce and rents high?

There is the first touch of the irony. And if we look right overhead, there is a great broad banner of it. With jolly pictures it tells you: "In case of tuberculosis, depend on these for a cure: The

doctor, sunlight, outdoor air, good food, rest." Your mouth waters as you behold the pan of fresh eggs, the roast beef, and the jar of milk accompanying the "good food" legend; and then your smile dies on your lips as you think of the thousands upon thousands who never get the chance to see such food from life's end to life's end.

But we must on. Still following our alcove, we come upon a row of jars standing on a window sill—twelve of them, all obscurely put where they would attract least attention. Let us read the inscriptions: Jar No. 1, a healthy child's lung. Full and round and solid it is. No. 2, healthy adult lung. No. 3, dirty lung. Soot and dust have begun to filter in; the clogged places in the breathing tissue are quite noticeable, like the black spots in Connecticut granite. No. 4, very dirty lung; subject worked in underground tunnel. No. 5—at last! The clogging has gone on till the man got tuberculosis—and died of it. A tunnel worker, he; while his employer sat in breezy office and prated of the "risks of capital."

This dust is bad for the lungs; especially, as a room in the main hall, upstairs, will show us, metallic, stone and pearl-shell dust. Leather and cloth slittings also fill in the tissue. Shoeworkers and delicate women of Lowell suffer here; buffers, polishers, grinders, stone-masons, stonecutters from the former. A grisly room this, of Occupations That Cause Tuberculosis. And also a grimly ironical one; for bread must a man have; and if he needs must choke himself with brass dust to get it, why, the slow death is preferred to the quick one.

So what care we if 700 odd patent paper drinking cups, paper cuspidors, and model tents have been brought out to cure tuberculosis—all mops against the tide so long as the present industrial system endures, which forces men into killing pursuits.

Here is a table gotten up by the Bureau of Sociological Research, and applies only to New York City for 1907. Classified by occupations, there died by tuberculosis in that year, of

Laborers	2,131
Domestic servants	949
Drivers	433
Hofel Help	307
Waiters	294
Tailors	264
Sewing machine hands	195
Clerks	194
Cooks	191
Porters	139
Peddlers	125
Carpenters	115

Laborers, the poorest paid, and therefore the poorest fed and housed, more than double, as you see, the next highest number.

Adjoining this screen, is another, which seems to put the native American far ahead in susceptibility to the disease. The figures again are for this city, and deal with 13,610 tabulated deaths:

Nationality	Per Cent Died of Tuberculosis	Per Cent In City
United States	42	23
Irish	21	20
German	8	22
Russian	7	7
Italian	6	6
Austrian	2	3
English	2	4

Although the native born make up only one-fifth of the city's population, they seem to furnish nearly half the tuberculosis deaths.

What says this black chart to our right:

"Death rate for 12 years, 1896-1907:	India
"United States	19 per 1,000
"23 per 1,000	Of Black Plague."

Deadly as the plague of India has been pictured in novel and essay, the American plague leaves it astern for devastation.

And here around the corner is another little card that drives home the reason why. It says:

"Excessive hours of hard work, on farm or in factory.
"Insufficient or indigestible food.
"Steady drinking of alcoholic liquors.
"Injure the health and make you susceptible to tuberculosis."

True, but again ironical; for what worker but works too hard on too little food; and has to put up with it?

Although "prominent real estate interests" were able to get certain resolution throttled in the recent White Plague Congress at Washington, which resolutions condemned their herding of human beings together for profit, several placards at the present Exhibition rub it into the landlord good and hard. For instance:

"Rent is abnormally and outrageously high at the lower incomes.
"Of those whose incomes are below \$600, three-quarters are underfed.
"Of those whose incomes are from \$600 to \$800, one-third are underfed."

And the average wage in the United States is \$437.—Are we not all underfed? An interesting corner on the 77th street side—also cleverly alcoved off—shows how European cities provide for breathing spaces for their population. In contrast to that is put the sordid grabbing of land values by New York landlords, regardless of health or sanitation.

until then. It will perhaps be the last thing the capitalists will resort to in order to suppress and down the Socialist voice, with the help of their own and the yet class unconscious working women's votes.

The Socialist woman lays a good foundation, and that is the most important work—making wage-earning women class conscious. Only when class conscious will the vote be of any use to the working woman. But it will be argued further that the Republican and Democratic voting women have as much right to use the vote, as they see fit, as the Socialist women. That is true. But for all that, it is not the duty of a working woman to aid her capitalist sisters in their sex struggle. The working woman should not leave her own battlefield in order to assist others who will surely be used as a tool to oppress her.

There is a grand and noble work to be done: that of awakening the wage slaves and bring to them consciousness of the struggle between the dominating and the dominated classes. They must be taught that Labor is the source of all wealth; that they who labor are entitled to all they produce; that by reason of the private ownership of the means of production, capitalism has proved fatal to the progress of humanity; that capitalism has had its day, and like all other systems which preceded it, must go; that it is the business of working men and working women to organize and meet the downfall of capitalism with a new structure on which to build the system of Socialism.

There is a budding morrow, in mid-night.—Keats.

Our birds of song are silent now; few are the flowers blooming;
Yet Life is in the frozen bough, and Freedom's Spring is coming.
Maseley.

As a fit wind-up for this series of charts is one reading:

"Needed to Cure Tuberculosis:
"Fresh Air—Can you get it into a density of 500 to the acre, and seventy per cent. of the lot covered by buildings, or in the ordinary factory, office or workshop?

"Rest—Is the hubbub of tenement life and its room congestion conducive to rest?

"Good Food—If the rent to maintain a decent standard takes twenty-five per cent. to thirty-five per cent. of the family income, does this not increase the difficulty of securing good food?"

But as long as we leave things in the hands of the capitalists, the landlord will retort to the grocer: "If you didn't charge so much for foods, people could afford to live in better quarters." So crying down the landlord and leaving alone the rest of the master class, isn't going to cheat tuberculosis of any lives.

The Exhibition is international, but the exhibits from Austria, Germany, France, England, Cuba, and the rest, are flat, compared with the horrors of our own capitalist-ridden city and country. Interesting devices for trundling the head of your bed out through the window after fresh air are illustrated, and cheap verandas that can be put up for outdoor living. Concrete sanitary dairies, and a concrete house which can be simply house-cleaned by carrying out the furniture and turning on the hose, are shown. A dozen, more or less, of private and public sanitariums show how they are working against the disease.

Apparently one has to fall sick and get one foot in the grave before any one begins to take decent care of him. On the third floor, in the new Eighth avenue wing, is the Pathological exhibit, of absorbing interest for the physician and student, hundreds of well-demonstrated specimens of diseased organs being there on view.

Wherever one may wander, something of information will be there to be gathered. And as we pause to go out, let us stop a moment before this legend:

- 1.—Ruthless land speculation for half a century.
- 2.—Nearly solid building over blocks.
- 3.—The most fearful congestion in the world.
- 4.—The most unreasonable sky-scraper on the globe.
- 5.—Human herding in home and factory.

There are, condensed, the causes of tuberculosis. Which, shall they be ended under Capitalism? Impossible. Therefore is this excellent and learned Tuberculosis Exhibition only a Mile of Irony.

MARX on MALLOCK

or
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Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 317 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Wednesday and Sunday. Open every Hungarian educational meetings every Headquarters Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 1362 Ontario avenue, at 3 P. M.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE, OR SOCIALISM, FOR WOMEN?

THE INJUSTICE SUFFERED BY THE WAGE-EARNING WOMAN DEMANDS MORE THAN SUFFRAGE TO ERADICATE IT.

By Mary Solomon.

"We demand Justice and Equality. We are human beings and will not rest until we are recognized as such. The privileged half of humanity enjoy rights which we, the disowned, strive for. We are named the weaker sex when it comes to voice or vote, but are thought strong enough to labor equally with men. It is neither just nor fair to create conditions under which women should be producers and yet be denied the rights which other producers enjoy. What have men done with this world? They have brought about a system detrimental to progress. They have allowed others to enjoy what the toilers worked for, so that now selfishness, immorality and greed reign." From the miserable conditions we have been forced into without voice we want to break away and help man. We will not be classed with idiots and criminals. We must not and will not be pacified until we have the vote." These are the strong arguments used by the Woman Suffrage agitators.

But here comes along the Socialist Woman befriending the Suffragist, and calling upon her to be calm and to reason. Was society always organized the way it is to-day? No. During centuries of development society passed through different stages: Individualism, Communism, Feudalism, Capitalism. As well as under a given system society is incapable of affording the people the means of life, that system must be wiped out of existence. And the sooner it is done the better.

In all ages there have been people who thought that the system under which they lived had always existed and

always would exist. To them a book of history was the holy ark which they dared not touch. As for imagination they could not get beyond the miracle of Baalam's ass. But it was not only in society of the past that such people existed. We have them with us to-day.

There have also been people in the past who watched closely the development of the mode of production which was always the determining factor of the status of society. They kept their eyes open to guarding the future and have profited by the past. Fortunately, we have people to-day who, while profiting by past experience and accumulation of experiences, do not lose sight of future society. They understand that society is a growth; that the growth, advancement and progress of society is determined by the industrial development and the means of production. They understand that a hundred years ago society could not afford the average man the comforts he enjoys to-day. And yet there are millions of men, women and children who are now deprived of the progress made through centuries, and live in destitution.

The suffragists claim that if they got their rights they would remedy existing evils. They see, as well as the Socialists do, the iniquity of Capitalism. Very well. The Socialist women say that their right to the vote is indisputable. The suffragists claim they are men's equals; so do the Socialist women. But the women in the Socialist movement already enjoy equality. In the Socialist movement there is no question, whether the capitalists should be allowed to exploit the woman wage-slave or not; there is no question whether the woman

wage-worker's interests are opposed to those of her master's; there is no question as to whether the woman producer is entitled to all she produces; there is no question as to whether woman should be "emancipated" or not. Basing themselves upon the class struggle the Socialist women progress along with their brother wage-slaves. Only the Socialist Movement can and will emancipate woman.

There is nothing to expect from the capitalist system. As for the reforms women will try to bring about with their vote the Socialist woman confesses that she has no faith in reforms. The Socialist woman does not believe in reforms. She understands that the capitalist system is fundamentally wrong, and cannot be righted except it is totally abolished. The Socialist woman struggles and strives to establish a more just and more humane system—the Socialist Republic.

The right of the vote may mean much to women property-holders; it may mean something to the struggling middle class society woman; but it means nothing to the wage-working woman. The working woman is deprived of more than one right. She suffers from more than one injustice. She has more than one grievance. It is the system under which she lives which she holds responsible for the misery and degradation inflicted upon her. The struggle she is engaged in is not a sex struggle, but a class struggle. She knows that when the capitalists, who by virtue of their economic power are masters of the political power, find it profitable to give woman a vote they will give it to her. Not

WEEKLY PEOPLE

28 City Hall Place, New York.
P. O. Box 1576.
Published every Saturday by the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.
Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
Frederick W. Ball, National Treasurer.

Entered as second-class matter at the
New York Post Office, July 13, 1900.
Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a copy
of their articles, and not to expect them to
be returned. Consequently, no stamps
should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.
In 1888 2,068
In 1892 21,157
In 1896 36,364
In 1900 74,191
In 1904 34,172

Subscription Rates: One year, \$1.00;
six months, 50c.; three months, 25c.

All communications for the Weekly
People, whether for editorial or business
departments, must be addressed to: The
Weekly People, P. O. Box 1576, New York
City.

Subscribers should watch the labels on
their papers and renew promptly in order
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Subscribers will begin to get the paper
regularly in two weeks from the date when
their subscriptions are sent in.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1908.

Whenever you hear a man dissuading
you from attempting to do well on the
ground that perfection is "Utopian," be-
ware of that man.

—RUSKIN.

SPAIN-AMERICA.

Should any Socialist or Labor organ-
ization contemplate issuing an address
to "workmen," miners especially, upon
capitalist iniquity and upon the tor-
tures that the workers, especially min-
ers, are subjected to, the following pas-
age is recommended from the address
just issued by the National Committee
of the Socialist Labor Party of Spain:

"Riotinto, the owner of which, an
English Company, buys newspapers,
State officers and experts, is a slaughter-
house of human beings, a torture room
for all who are there employed, and a
disgrace to the country, especially to the
government which tolerates the iniqui-
ties committed there; Almaden, a cem-
etery, where the State officials as sex-
ton; Pueblo Nuevo, an insalubrious place,
where the worker's health is not consid-
ered, only little is paid to him, and no
precautions are taken to safeguard him
from fatal accidents; Villadrid, a dark
alley in the Sierra Morena where the
workers are robbed in three ways—
through starvation wages, crediting
them with the same after being 60 days
overdue, and compelling them to take
their supplies from a Company inn; Te-
sorero, a feudal fief where the workers
are kept in a state of almost complete
isolation from the surrounding popu-
lation, are mercilessly exploited, and are
paid many months in arrears; Seron,
exploited by an English Company, like
other localities of the same province, a
sink of cruelty where, despite all com-
plaints, no hospital has yet been erected
for the care of those who suffer acci-
dents; the "Miguel" mine, the "Mine of
Death," as it is called by the miners
themselves on account of the large num-
ber of accidents that happen there; the
"Carolina" mine, an altar of capitalism,
seeing that not a week goes by without
some proletarian being immolated."

Just strike out Riotinto and insert in
its place Cripple Creek; strike out Al-
maden and insert the Pittsburgh, Pa., dis-
trict; insert Virden, Ill., in lieu of
Pueblo Nuevo; substitute Villadrid with
Idaho's Coeur d'Alene; put, in place of
Tesorero, Ohio's Hockingvalley; strike the
Indiana coal district where Seron now
appears in the Spanish address; in stead
of the "Miguel" mine write the West
Virginia mining realm of the would-be
father-in-law of the Prince of the Ab-
russi; for the "Carolina" of Spain take
the mines of Alabama;—do that, and the
address will fit the United States even
better than the proverbial "babber on de
wall."

The capitalist realm is international—
identical everywhere are its ways.

PROTECTION CARRIES OFF THE PALM.

My Lord Protection and his lord-
ship's virtuous spouse, My Lady Free-
trade, have been jointly holding a series
of receptions in their parlor, the Ways
and Means Committee. It is on all
sides admitted that each of the hosts
excelled in his and her peculiar charms.
But the palm must be given to one; it
cannot be handed to both. To whom
shall the award be made? Opinion is
divided upon this. A sense of gnan-
tity inclines some to ornament the pal-
lating bosom of My Lady with the
trophy. Unswayed by any such senti-
mental motive, and while admitting
that the contest is close, an impartial
public is bound to decorate the lapel
of My Lord's coat with the emblem
of excellence.

"There can be no labor until there
are mills." This jewel dropped from
My Lord Protection's lips in the per-
son of Chairman Payne. Many spark-
ling jewels dropped from My Lady's
Freestrade's rosy lips. None, however,
as of the water of this one of My

Lord's. A candid arbitrator must ad-
mit that this particular capitalist jewel
out-sparkles all capitalist jewels—yet.
"There can be no labor until there
are mills"—this is the enunciation of a
new Genesis; it also is the enunciation
of a new theory of biology.

Genesis teaches that God created
man and that He did so after His own
image.—Protection gives short shrift
to the orthodox theory; the MILL
created man, and it did so, not after
its own image, but after an image
invented by itself—the image of the
wage-slave.

Biology pretends that man was not
created but evolved from inferior
vertebrate formations.—Protection
sniffs at the fine spun theory of
Science; man was not evolved; he was
"turned out" by the mill, just as the
mill turns out yards of cloth, or tons
of pig iron.

"There can be no labor until there
are mills"—this is an enunciation that
revolutionizes Genesis, and upsets
Science even more radically than in
the matter of man's creation, or evolu-
tion.

Genesis teaches, that in the begin-
ning there was only the will of God,
who created all things out of nothing.
culminating in man.—Protection
teaches that in the beginning there was
a MILL. From the mill all else came,
man included.

Biology pretends that in the begin-
ning there was an incandescent ne-
bula, from which, by gradual conden-
sation, this world and all the things
upon it appeared in successive order.—
"Pooh!" says Protection; "Nebula
nothing! In the beginning there was
a solid thing, the MILL, from whose
teeming 'hards' man was projected."

That My Lord Protection—a pillar
of "Law," "Order," and "Religion"—
pay scant respect to Science is in the
order of things; that, however, the
identical pillar play revolution with
Genesis, that is not quite in the order
of things. Off and on, true to the or-
thodox conception of the inherent in-
iquity of woman, My Lady Free Trade
indulges in society-reversive rantings.
At one leap his lordship distances his
consort by a full length—and carries
off the palm.

THE PICKLE OF THE C. F. U.

At the Sunday, Dec. 6, session of the
Central Federated Union Typographical
Union No. 6 was made the target for
assault from the delegates of several or-
ganizations. No. 6 was called "selfish."
This was the clearest of the darts hurled
at it. The assailants were the dele-
gates of the engineers, firemen and other
Unions, men of whose trades work in
printing plants. The reason for the as-
sault was that No. 6 insisted on keeping
aloof from a conference, the object of
which is to unionize the men, outside of
the printers' trade, who are working in
printing plants. The angry delegates
threatened, if not seconded in their ef-
forts, to order their printing in open
shops, at any rate to ignore the "Union
Label." Such threats, of course, created
a stir, and it was finally decided that
the Allied Printing Trades shall—well,
shall behave.

This is stepping upon dangerous
ground. It means nothing short of ques-
tioning the sanctity of the "Union La-
bel." It is a step in the direction of
holding that neither is a "Union" a
Union, nor a "Label" what it purports
to be, if the protection afforded by ei-
ther is bounded by its own "autonom-
ous" craft boundaries. In short, the
move spells "Industrialism," and Indus-
trialism faces class-conscious Unionism
—exactly the opposite of what the C. F. U.,
together with each of its constitu-
ents, stands for.

A measure of Industrialism already
appears in the Allied Printing Trades.
Nevertheless, the allies in this body are
well known to be a set of mutually
upon one another—scabbing concerns.
Hardly a strike breaks out in the craft
of any of the allies without the others
remaining at work, that is; scabbing up-
on it. With this experience behind
them, it is not surprising that the Allied
Printing Trades are averse to increasing
the number of the allies. With such
allies as they now have their reputation
for scabbery is bad enough. Increase
the number of allies and the opportunities
for the blot of scabbery to be multiplied
is an inevitable thing. The very en-
gineers, firemen and others, who are now
clamoring for solidarity, will forget all
about it when any of their allies go on
strike; and if they do not forget all
about it, their "sacred contracts" will
make them.

Wise in their generation are the dele-
gates of the Allied Printing Trades, to-
gether with the other delegates, who
oppose the move of the engineers, etc.
It is with these men the case of an alert
sub-class instinct; so to speak. Revolu-
tionary Unionism sings the knell of
their living. Was then the conduct of
these collective gentry, the C. F. U., a
conduct that ignored the sub-class in-
terest of the collective Labor-leutenancy
of the Capitalist Class? Not at all.

The Labor-leutenancy of the Capitalist

Class is but the backward falling shad-
ow of the Capitalist class itself. Class
conscious, though the Capitalist Class is,
it is seen itself recruiting the soldiers
that are to overthrow it, and even cast-
ing the mold in which these soldiers are
to be organized. This work of capital-
ism is involuntary. It is a work that
the fatality of its own existence forces
upon it. Ditto, ditto with its shadow,
its Labor-leutenants. The same inher-
ent and fatal law, that propels by dog-
ging capitalism, propels by dogging its
Labor agents. Will they, nil they, they
are bound to produce the conditions that
will cause the stench of craft Union
leadership to become so intolerably pun-
gent, and all-enveloping as to cause the
stench-emitter to be wiped out and
bona fide Unionism to be organized.

HARRIMAN'S STRAW LONE WIDOW.

We thought the lone widow was
married and happily settled—that sad,
lone widow who used to be exhibited
as one who would be injured by Soc-
ialism.

But Harriman has pulled her out,
all lorn and desolate as she is. "The
railroads of the country are not owned
by a few rich men," he says in a letter
to the American Mining Congress. "They
are owned by the men and women
of this country, whose savings have
helped build and improve them." And
in behalf of these men and wom-
en, all, we presume, lone widows and
widowers, Harriman pleads for larger
returns on railroad investments.

A certain minister used to recount
as conclusive evidence of the native
depravity of all mankind the answer
once made to him, by an erring mem-
ber of his church. "How many times
have you committed this grievous sin?"
he had asked. "Oh, sir," was the re-
ply, "it would take a book-keeper to
tell you that!"

Is Mr. Harriman in the fix that he
needs a book-keeper to tell him how
many railroads he alone is in part or
entire control of? Perhaps we can
play at book-keeper as well as well
another:

Baltimore and Ohio R. R., director.
Brooklyn Heights R. R. Co., director.
Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co., director.
Central Pacific Railway Co., presi-
dent and director.
Chicago and Alton, director.
Delaware and Hudson, member of
the board of managers.
Erie R. R. Co., director.
Illinois Central, director.
Iowa Rwy and Navigation Co.,
director.
Leavenworth, Kansas and Western,
director.
Louisiana Western, president and
director.
Morgan's Louisiana and Texas R. R.
(and Steamship Co.), president and
director.
Nassau Electric Co., director.
New York, Susquehanna and West-
ern, director.
Oregon and California, president and
director.
Oregon R. R. and Navigation Co.,
president and director.
Oregon Short Line, president and di-
rector.
Pacific Coast Co., director.
Pere Marquette R. R. Co., director.
Railroad Securities Co., president and
director.
San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt
Lake, director.
South Pacific Coast Rwy, president
and director.
Southern Pacific Terminal Co., presi-
dent and director.
Texas and New Orleans, president
and director.
Union Pacific R. R., president, chair-
man of the executive committee, and
director.

Twelve "president and directorships,"
thirteen plain "directorships," and a few
"memberships on board of managers,"
thrown in—that is the grasp E. H.
Harriman has on the railroads of the
country. Where are the lone widows
and widowers whose "savings" have
built those roads up? And there are
a dozen just or nearly as bad as he,
did space only permit exhibiting them
likewise. Poor lone widow seems to be
gobbled up, lost somewhere, doesn't
she?

But even if she were not. Suppose
she really "owned the railroads" through
"her savings." Which is more im-
portant—that she be aided to get
more than her four per cent. return
on her investment for doing nothing;
or that the trainmen who do the work
and run the risk of their lives and
limbs, should receive the full value of
their precarious labor?

Either way, the lone widow, being
a widow of straw, must topple; and
whichever way she topples, must Mr.
Harriman her godfather topple also.

The New York Labor News Company
is the literary agency of the Socialist
Labor Party. It prints nothing but
sound Socialist literature.

DR. SANGRADO GILDER.

"Within a few days the country has
been shocked by the official figures of
divorce in the United States"—with
these words Mr. Richard Watson Gil-
der, opened his anti-woman suffrage
speech at the Berkeley Lyceum meet-
ing.

With this opening statement of fact
and sentiment none can take excep-
tion. The official figures of divorce
are startling; they are well calculated
to shock society.

Mr. Richard Watson Gilder then
proceeded to argue from these pre-
mises that the woman's suffrage move-
ment "is a new, insidious and possibly
disastrous attack upon the fundamen-
tals of civilization—the home."

The witty Le Sage photographs in
his story of Gil Blas a remarkable
Doctor. His name was Sangrado,
which means bleeder. Dr. Sangrado
had a unique system of reasoning.
Was a man sick? he bled him. Did
the man grow worse? he bled him
some more. Needless to say what
were the consequences. It is hard to
distinguish the Dr. from Richard Wat-
son Gilder as a social physician.

The home is on the rocks. Mr. Gil-
der admits that. Who should save the
home, who is called to save the home?
One should think that the home itself
must do the work. And whom does
the home consist of? It consists of
husband and wife, together with their
children, eventual wives and husbands.
The home being on the rocks, and the
adult members of the home being the
husband and the wife, the conclusion
is inevitable that husband and wife
must co-operate in saving it. "Not
so!" puts in Dr. Sangrado Gilder. "The
co-operation of the wife would lead to
'pathetically incongruous' results.
The wife must keep hands off."

Either the ballot is a good, or it is a
bad thing. If it is a bad thing for the
wife leg of the social person known as
"the home," then it cannot be a
good thing for the husband leg of the
self-same entity. If it is a good thing
for the husband leg, it must be equal-
ly good for the wife leg. Dr. Sangrado
Gilder would let the house hobble on
one leg—amputate, if necessary, the
wife leg.

The Dr. Sangrado style of reason-
ing proceeds from a Dr. Sangrado
theory of the human constitution. So
with Dr. Sangrado Gilder. The Dr.
Sangrado Gilder theory of the "home"
places the home outside of society—
an absurdity. Whether the home be
the pivot of society, or the reflex of
society,—all laws and institutions
either radiate from, or focalize in the
home. The home is an integral part
of society. Every adult member there-
of must co-operate to its improve-
ment. To smite woman with incapaci-
ty for co-operation by circumscribing
her "functions" to those of a mare, for
breeding, as Roosevelt implies and Dr.
Sangrado Gilder evidently holds, leaves
to man nothing but a "function,"
which Mrs. Charlotte Gillman has well
indicated with the question whether
man would accept that other and sup-
plementary function as all that is re-
quired of him?

If society does not promptly rally
to her own succor, the Dr. Sangrados
will yet be the death of her.

CONSIDERATE OF EACH OTHER.

On the December 10 hearing of the
Ways and Means Committee, Robert S.
Hastings, the representative of the gold-
leaf industry, testified that the duty on
gold leaf was now so low that suitable
wages could not be paid to the men and
women engaged in the industry. Mr.
Hastings asked that the duty be raised
from \$1.75 per package of 500 leaves to
50 cents per 100 leaves. In other words,
Mr. Hastings demanded a raise of 75
cents—in the interest of his employees.

At this point the Democratic members
of the committee muffed their chance.
The question for them to have put to
Mr. Hastings, on the spot, was: "Will
you add, to the present wages that you
pay, the increased duty that you de-
mand?" Mr. Hastings would have been
knocked out of breath. Love and affec-
tion for his employees is good enough as
a pretence on the part of the protection-
ist. It never is meant for more. The
protectionist knows that he buys his
labor-power in the labor-market at the
market price, and that, the supply being
far above the demand, tariff or no tariff,
tax or no tax, the price is low.

In justice to the tariff revisers, how-
ever, it must be admitted that, they
were, perhaps, not such bad muffers,
after all. After all, their not asking the
question may have been a sign of
shrewdness. Suppose they had asked the
question, and suppose the protectionist
had answered with this other question:
"Will you engage to let your employees'
wages remain where they are if the tariff
is lowered?" The effect of such a ques-
tion would have been disastrous to free
trade anatomy. How preposterous a
question! Just think of keeping up
wages at a high standard of cost of
living, after the cost of living is lowered

by free trade!

And so it goes on. On the Committee
each side knows the other side better
than it knows itself. Hence is careful
not to step too hard on the others' toes.

The recent delayed announcement of
the marriage of Miss Edythe Augusta
Forbes, daughter of Prof. Charles
Forbes of the department of physics,
Columbia University, disclosed the
fact that during the two years of the
secret bond, Miss Forbes had held "a
lucrative position, teaching for a pri-
vate concern interested in settlement
work in Brooklyn." What prominent
settlement worker was it the other day
who said the best part of settlement
work always goes to the "settler"?

What a lesson in industrial union-
ism is being worked out before one's
eyes in Chicago. All the surface lines,
all the four "L" lines, and the Com-
monwealth Edison Co., which supplies
all with power, are considering a gi-
gantic merger. Will the workmen in
those several concerns take the hint,
and organize into one undisjointed
union of traction workers? Or will
the power-house men remain in their
autonomous electricians' union, so that
when the motormen and conductors
strike, it will be "none of their busi-
ness," and they will break the strike
as they did in New York in 1905?

Mrs. Alice Longworth has received
the pair of jeweled bracelets worn by
the late empress dowager of China.
Is that in anticipation of the day when
America's 80,000,000 will bow before
the will of their handful of rulers as
mutely as do now the millions of
China? The unrest in the air fore-
bodes the anticipation to a rude shat-
tering.

Significant—is it not?—that the very
first bill introduced in Congress, upon
its assembling on the 7th of this month,
was a bill to increase the Army? Who
was it that said: "Armies are there
to collect the taxes, and taxes are there
to keep up the Armies"? Like a kitten
running in a circle after her tail is
"capitalist government."

Hayti has been and continues in
tumult. Nord Alexis is overthrown as
if by enchantment. General Simon by
equal enchantment is acclaimed. And
not quite by enchantment General Fir-
min is said to be marching upon the
capital with an armed force. Are all
these things enchantments? or are they
repetitions of the Panama revolution,
with the United States capitalists pull-
ing the wires?

The special work upon which the
Census Bureau is reported to be en-
gaged is said to be "a scheme of re-
tirement and pensioning of old Fed-
eral employees." The proper name of
the scheme is: "A scheme to fur-
nish one more proof to the Socialist
contention that capitalist society is di-
vided into classes, and that the gov-
ernment of such society is a class gov-
ernment." The pensions which are to
be provided will be so paltry in com-
parison with the pensions already pro-
vided for the "higher officials," that
the scheme will be in the nature of a
flashlight in the glare of which the
Federal employees will look like coolies
beside the "higher officials"—absolu-
tely different castes.

With admirable abnegation the chiefs
of the Democratic party are engaged in
proving that the long-eared quadruped,
as a symbol of the Democracy, is no
calumny. These chiefs are laboring to
"revive the Democracy." Molasses may
catch flies, but not votes—at least not
enough to triumph.

COWS OR MEN?

People Who Make Big Fuss Over
Cattle Ranch Starvation Never Ob-
ject to Wage Slavery.

The time is coming when men will
be prosecuted for starving a thousand
cattle to death in the West, as an East-
ern farmer would be prosecuted for
starving one animal to death. Any
person who has traveled across a cattle
range by rail, and seen thousands of
dead cattle lying beside the track,
starved and frozen, will be glad to see
the law enforced. A cattle king has
no more right to starve his cattle than
a farmer has to starve a horse. The
Century Magazine published the con-
fessions of Theodore Roosevelt, a New
York cattle owner, who told of the
freezing cattle of the West, as though
it was a good stroke of business. It did
not seem to have occurred to the edi-
tors of the Century, or to Roosevelt,
that cattle-starving is cruel.—"Peck's
Sap," Milwaukee, Wis.

All very good, but what of the whole
employing class which starves its
workmen physically and mentally
all through their lives, and once in a
while, by a panic, kills a few thousand
of them off quick?

That is a much more important ques-
tion, and until it is settled, suffering
cows must not be allowed to clog our
view of the main point.

BULWARKS OF LIBERTY.

The Capitalist Press, and What Its
Function Really Is.

By K. KILDARE.

While the Socialist rightly character-
izes the grafting capitalist newspaper as
one of the strongest powers of darkness,
the non-thinking Republican or Demo-
crat, of lazy mental habitude and weak
on economics, may see in it a "bulwark
of liberty." His distorted mental vision
will be straightened some day, poor fel-
low.

The role of the average newspaper is
that of footwasher and nosewiper general
to the corrupt capitalist class. The
principal desideratum in its editors' qual-
ifications is that of a magnificently pro-
portioned, mountainous liar. He must
be able to lie for'ard, aft, and 'midships,
on both flanks, and to the rear. He
must be a bigger liar than a gas-meter,
yea, even bigger than the tombstone that
bears the legend of "Asleep in Jesus"
over the carcass of as big a scoundrel as
ever drew breath, or "Gone—Deeply Re-
gretted" in relation to some parsimonious
wretch whose exit was hastened by the
arsenic of covetous relatives eagerly
awaiting his demise for the dear sake of
his dirty dollars. No honest man, no man
of conscience can fill the position of
editor to a capitalist newspaper. Owned
body and soul by his masters, he is
simply a human megaphone publicly
voicing their honest thoughts and inter-
ests, perverting the truth, glorifying
every form of brutal oppression and
propagating ideas of cowardly, slavish sub-
mission. A moral and mental prostitute,
he stands miles below the poor street-
walker who for bread sells only her body.
A traitor to his class, he is simply a
public doormat on which Graft wipes
his pedal extremities, entering the
public drawing room. He has as much
latitude as the staked ox or the organ
grinder's monkey, and his puerile platitudes
are specially adapted to the social
fools and economic serfs who feed and
thrive on such literary pabulum—save
the mark!

The average man, unfortunately, will
accept as the acme of truth and erudition
any literary garbage that is served
up to him. Tired mentally, with most
of his time occupied in securing the nec-
essary bread, he prefers to let others do
his thinking and readily swallows all
the loathsome lies and garbled gibberish
they send him in the shape of printers'
ink. Alas! Alas!

This country would in six months be
denuded of an army of capitalist buz-
zards if we had a few honest newspapers
to tell the plain truth about the rapaci-
ous rascals. But the publication of an
item of truth would be as fatal as prus-
sic acid to the average editor, while on
his masters its effect would be as deadly
as the fangs of the cobra. Realizing
that poor, naked, unarmed truth stands
no chance in the public arena against a
full grown armor-plated lie armed with
the grenades of graft, your "bulwark of
liberty" prefers to ally itself with the
industrial pirates and join them in stick-
ing the tentacles of graft fathoms deep
into the long suffering people. Not
openly and above board, oh no; but
while preaching a mendacious mock
morality and hoodwinking them with all
the soft side blandishments and "desirable
citizen" hypocries of the long experi-
enced and accomplished literary harlot.

Take an example. Scan the pages of
your daily advocate of prohibition.
Read its raucous ravings against its
favorite punch bag, the saloon man, for
whom no adjective in the editor's limited
vocabulary is too acerbous, no vilification
too vile. After these editorial expec-
tations come with me to the realms of
advertising on the following page and
behold the caloric cake for comatose
cerebrums exuding from compounders
of corruption in the shape of patent pan-
aceas for the sick, the lame, and the lazy.
Read of Dr. Output's Opaque Offalite,
sure and certain cure for Ossification,
Obesity, and Obtuseness; of Dr. Ven-
dam's Vernal Vigor, infallible remedy
for Vertigo, Villainy and Venom; of
Dr. Pullalag's Pathological Pabulum for
the Plastic; of Dr. Pflifer's Pellicud Pel-
lets for Parboiled Peoples; of Mrs. Wily's
Womb Water for Wailing Women, and
all the other elevating rag, tag, and
bottail, from the Divine Dejection De-
leter to the fifty-dollar Correspondence
Course Calamity. Buncoes, each and
every one of 'em.

After a feast of this feculent stuff,
pin your newspaper to the dissecting
table, produce a microscope and therewith
find if you can one solitary germ of the
gem of consistency. Make congruous its
diatribes against the legitimate and
licensed vendor of wet goods, the saloon
man, with its well paid advocacy of con-
coctions of alcohol and rotgut vended by
these patent medicine pirates; render com-
patible with fair play and honesty its
acrimonious onslaughts on the legalized
traders in wet goods and its paternal in-
terest in the profits of the biggest of all
buncoes—the patent medicine graft.

Is the "bulwark of liberty" that opens
its columns to the advertisements and
participates in the profits of a fraudu-
lent concern, is it an equally guilty ac-



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (approaching
Uncle Sam confidentially and in a whis-
per)—Now tell me, what guarantee have
we that the Socialists, if elected, won't
sell out?

UNCLE SAM—Did the Abolitionists,
or the Republicans whom elected, sell
out?

B. J.—No!
U. S.—Go further back; did the dele-
gates to the Continental Congress, when
elected, sell out to King George?

B. J.—No!
U. S.—Go still further back; did the
Roundheads, who made the revolution
against Charles I., sell out after they
were elected to Parliament?

B. J. (visibly weakening)—No!
U. S.—Come again forward a little;
did the bourgeois or the capitalists of
France, when they captured the third
estate, sell out to the Royalists?

B. J.—N-n-o!
U. S.—Now, I'll admit that the sim-
ple fact that none of these sold out
would not be sufficient ground from
which to conclude that the Socialists
will not sell out.

B. J. (brightening up)—You think so,
too, don't you?

U. S.—Yes. I say the simple fact
that one man or set of men did not sell
out is no guarantee that another won't
—?

B. J.—That's just what I think!

U. S.—The thing to look into is this:
The reason why none of those sets of
people sold out. If we find that the
same reason does NOT exist with the
Socialists there would be no guarantee
that they won't sell out; but, if we find
that the same reason DOES exist with
the Socialists, then there WOULD be a
guarantee that they won't sell out.

B. J.—Well, is there such a reason?
U. S.—Yes. The reason why the
Northern Abolitionist Republicans in of-
fice did not sell out was that they were
capitalists; and it was to their interest
to abolish slavery, and thereby make
labor "free" to compete with itself and
have its members mutually cut one an-
other's throat.

B. J.—Was that the milk in the co-
coanut?

U. S.—None other. The reason why
the Revolutionary Fathers of the Con-
tinental Congress did not sell out was
that it was to their interest to keep
their property, and not let King George
tax it away from them.

B. J.—So?

U. S.—Exactly. Likewise with the
Roundheads and the French Revolu-
tionists. You will ever find that an
economic class, when it once acquires
a consciousness of its own class inter-
ests, never sells out. Now, then, the
people who become Socialists are either
proletarians, workmen; who have
reached a clear understanding of the
fact that they and their families are
dead unless Socialism is established, or
they are men who, without yet being
proletarians, are intelligent enough to
realize that their turn will certainly
come when they will be wage slaves,
and who are decent enough to help,
instead of retarding human progress.
The interests of such people will hold
them straight, as all other revolution-<

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

AS AN ENGLISHMAN SEES US.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am a constant reader of the Weekly People, which I consider one of the finest, if not the finest weekly journal of its kind. I feel out of sorts when I don't get it; I feel as if something were lacking if it is delayed; while if it comes earlier I am raised to the seventh heaven instantly.

I am especially interested in reading the answers to correspondents, often very illuminating, and the "Arrow Heads," "Buzz Saw Chips," etc., etc.

Comrades, the S. L. P. of U. S. A.'s official organ is without doubt a veritable sledge hammer to all its enemies; a mace that cracks their skulls and sends them howling to the tune of "fanatics," et alia. My only word to the comrades of the States is this: Let her rip. Keep up the fire, boys, the old walls of the Robberburg are crumbling and will soon be razed with the soil.

Wm. G. Allan.
Hawwood, Eng., Nov. 28.

UP WITH THE PARTY PRESS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In regard to the extraordinary offer made by the Weekly People with the help of comrades "Come Again" and A. Peierlo, I wish this offer would be kept up by the Sections throughout the states. It will give every new subscriber the best Socialist weekly paper and a good assortment of literature that will open a good many eyes. Our nickels and dimes could not be better invested.

If every Section would give \$5 every three months I believe this offer could be kept up for a good while. I would also suggest that every Section get a bundle of the Weekly and send the copies (the offer marked) to outside workmen. State Executive Committees could do the same and send copies throughout the state to readers whose subs expire and to acquaintances. I hope that the comrades will take hold of my suggestion and make it a success.

Robert Strach.
San Antonio, Tex., Dec. 4.

WE CAN USE THE MONEY, BUT THE ONLY THING MORTGAGED IS THE S. P. SKULL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—While listening to a Socialist Party speaker by the name of Wm. Besomer of Cleveland, Ohio, a man in the audience asked what was the difference between the S. L. P. and the S. P. The answer was the S. L. P. has been, and the S. P. is, and there were only "a few followers with Danny De Leon," and a heavy mortgage on their printing press. Please let me know if it is mortgaged as I will try to send money to help lift the mortgage.

A. B.
Erie, Pa., December 4.

CAN MISS CAPITALIST DAILIES, BUT CAN'T MISS THE PEOPLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—You will please find enclosed check for two dollars (\$2.00), in payment for a year's subscription for each of appended names. Just noticed my subscription was almost expiring, and I would prefer being without current daily news rather than miss one week's issue of the best instructor and educator the wage earner of America has. May the New Year bring you greater results, in circulation as well as educational effect.

J. A. Stodel.
Los Angeles, Cal., November 30.

SYSTEMATIC WORK IN ELIZABETH, N. J.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Elizabeth, S. L. P., held a meeting last night to discuss ways and means for furthering the movement in this city. Comrade Hossack, Secretary of the S. E. C. Correspondence Bureau, was present and joined in the discussion. A committee of three to arrange for a series of lectures was elected. Plans for pushing the party press and literature are to be developed further.

Organizer.
Elizabeth, N. J., December 3.

"HEADQUARTERS" WEEVILED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—If considered of enough interest let me have a little space in the paper for the following report of a lecture I heard this afternoon, delivered by Emma Goldman on her last tour of America before going to Australia, upon the subject, "Is Anarchism Opposed to Organization?"

I had never before heard that the Anarchist school advocated industrial unionism, but such is the case now. Evidently something has happened to change the propaganda methods of these people. Evidently the acts of the last "I. W. W." convention were to the liking of this physical force element, and it now recognizes, as the recruiting grounds for an organization, what up to the present time has had a difficulty to find a foothold in the body social. Playing upon the string of the "solidarity of labor" and "independent organization along class lines" to further their own education," etc., etc., can now be carried on by the Anarchist, hand in hand with the "I. W. W." since they have discarded that "Delusion and a Snare," political action.

It need no longer be doubted that the "I. W. W." as "founded" by the "last convention," is a physical force concern and nothing else, and that its Trautmanns, St. Johns and Axelsons are worthy comrades, for in conversation with some of the leading lights present I was asked whether I had read St. John's answer to the Intellectual in the Industrial Bulletin, which was lauded as a master stroke against political actionists. The speaker referred to the awful struggle the "I. W. W." is now having in placing itself upon correct lines, meaning of course the struggle against the majority, who believed in political as well as industrial organization.

That the Trautmann, St. John, Axelson bunch are part and parcel and will be swallowed up by the Anarchist school should no longer be a doubt in the minds of any one that heard Emma Goldman's speech.

Birds of a feather will ever flock together.

H. A. Brandborg.
Butte, Mont., Dec. 6.

FINDING OUT RIGHT AND LEFT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A committee of two, consisting of the undersigned and Miss Belle Greenberg, acting under instruction from the Socialist Women of Greater New York, to have a certain amount of tickets printed for their intended entertainment in the near future, provided, for reasons of expediency, with labels—"I. W. W. preferable, the above organization being in favor of Industrial Unionism—we started out on Wednesday last, December 2, in search of the man in the moon—the I. W. W. label. We were referred to a so-called "Union Printing Shop," owned by a Mr. Raifel, and situated at 82 Centre street, as being able to furnish us with any "brand preferable," I. W. W. or A. F. of L.

Upon inquiry, we arrived there, and were told they didn't handle it any more. We wanted to be enlightened. Why? In answer the proprietor, Mr. Raifel, told us the following: "S. A. Stodel and Vincent St. John came to my place yesterday (Tuesday, December 1), and told me not to use the I. W. W. label till further notice, and invited me to a meeting of theirs that was to be held the same evening, to which, however, I must tell you," he added rather amused, "I did not go—not being interested in it any more. As my business thrives very well without any labels at all, being an open shop at present, I would like to serve you ladies," he concluded, "but I don't want to quarrel with those people as they owe me quite a little money—yet—and I am still hoping to get it some day."

Are comments necessary? I think not.

Anna B. Touroff.
New York, December 3.

CHICAGO UP AND DOING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Socialist Labor Party of this city is busily engaged building a solid structure for revolutionary work. The Section held an enthusiastic general meeting Sunday, December 6. New officers were elected as well as State executive committee and state secretary. Charles Pierson was given the position of Weekly People agent.

The Section adopted plans for a March festival and it will be our aim

to make the affair rival the festival which Section New York will hold in that month next year.

Several dollars were raised for the benefit of the Jewish organ, "Der Arbeiter."

In the general discussion which took place our hustling comrade, Rath, told how he sells from forty to sixty copies of the Weekly People every Sunday. Last Sunday he ran out of his supply of Weekly People. He said he could have disposed of twenty more copies had he had them. Then Rath made an appeal to those present to give their names to Pierson and the amount of papers they each could sell every week. The result was that the Section increased its bundle order of Weekly People by 100 copies. This increase will be kept up and we will strive for the 1,000 mark.

Various other methods of propaganda were discussed. The comrades were unanimous in their expression of the forward steps which this meeting had taken, and they desire that more general meetings shall be called in the future.

Next Sunday the Section will run a ball and entertainment at Friedman's Hall, Grand and Western avenues, beginning at 7 o'clock in the evening. Any comrade and sympathizer who happens to be in town on this day should drop in and spend a pleasant few hours.

D. Rudnick.
Chicago, Ill., December 7.

DOINGS IN LOS ANGELES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Los Angeles County, S. L. P., held another enjoyable social on Thanksgiving evening. Music, dancing and turkey refreshments were indulged in by a very happy crowd until the wee small hours. The next social will be held on New Years Eve, December 31, and all readers of The People are invited to come.

The Section is holding propaganda and educational meetings every Sunday evening at the new headquarters, 217 East Seventh street, and readers of The People are not only invited to attend but should consider it their duty to come and bring others.

It is a tribute to the spirit of the S. L. P. to see the comrades and sections in various parts of the country continue activity after the election as well as before. Section Los Angeles celebrated the election by opening a larger and more comfortable headquarters.

The late election showed clearly the vicious power of the capitalist press to mould "public opinion" and help the capitalist class by misrepresentation, howling "prosperity is here," when no one can find it; and in various ways humbugging and bewildering the workers. We must be up and doing for the Party.

Wage Worker.
Los Angeles, Cal., November 27.

"PRACTICAL" ADVICE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—While visiting a relative the other night I happened to see a copy of a church paper called "St. Matthew's Messenger," edited by Rev. Bavendam of the Wayne Street Lutheran Church, Jersey City. In this paper was some so-called "literary advice." One of the items was of so great importance to all wage-earners that I should be accused of greediness if I kept it for myself. So here is this godly man's advice.

"If you have not got the money for your rent, read the 37th Psalm."

Isn't it splendid? Wonder if his Reverence will produce the cash if the landlord declines to be satisfied with your "literary" studies.

Axel Staal.
Jersey City Heights, N. J., Dec. 5.

THEY MUST BE WATCHED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the Daily People of October 15, this year, appeared an article entitled "S. P. Record," where instances were given of Socialist party members who accepted endorsement for political office from capitalist parties. I read this article to the Socialist party members here, but they at once branded the article a lie, because it was printed in the kicking paper (as they call The People).

A few days later a local paper printed a news item stating that at the municipal election there would be two tickets in the field—a People's and a Citizens' ticket. In looking over the names of the various candidates I noticed the name of C. F. Ring, the secretary of the S. P. local here. He was listed as councilman candidate on the Citizens' ticket. I sought out Mr. Ring and in the presence of several members of his party asked him the question if he as a Socialist did not violate the principles of revolutionary Socialism by being a candidate for election on a Citizen ticket?

His answer was that he was as good a Socialist as I was, but he as a taxpayer had a right to run for office in a municipal campaign on any d—d ticket he pleased. He claimed that a municipal campaign was not a national campaign.

I told him he would better write for information to the state secretary of the Socialist party, but he refused to do so. I then told him I myself would write, and I did. I enclose copies of my letter to the state secretary, Krueger of the S. P., and of his answer to me. His reply clearly shows by its tone and contents that my taking up the matter was not desirable to them.

(Enclosure.)

I
Mt. Vernon, Wash., Nov. 21, 1938.
State Secretary Socialist Party,
Seattle, Wash.

Mr. Krueger:—
I write to inquire whether a member of your party (S. P.) can run for office (councilman) on a Citizens' ticket in a city where the party has a local, and the gentleman referred to is secretary of the same. He is running for the office with the consent and approval of the local.

Awaiting your reply, I am,
Yours for Socialism,
I. H. Nosovitch.
P. S.—Kindly send me a copy of the platform, state constitution, etc. Enclosed find stamps for reply.—I. H. N.

II.

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 22, 1938.
I. H. Nosovitch,
Mt. Vernon, Wash.

Dear Sir:—
In reply to your favor of the 21st inst., in which you inform me that the Secretary of the Socialist Party in Mt. Vernon is the candidate for Councilman on the Citizens' ticket, and that he is the nominee with the consent of the party there, was duly received, and I will say, with reference to the legality of this action that this is a matter alone in the province of the party to be settled, after the facts have been established beyond a doubt.

Your letter does in no way indicate that you are a member of the party and therefore to discern your motive to investigate, an investigation with reference to a matter which concerns the party only, or any of its members, is a difficult question to solve. At any rate this is a family affair if the facts reported by you are true, and any questions and problems arising therefrom must be solved within the family.

I can not see any good reason why I should discuss party affairs, and which are of concern only to party members, should be discussed at all with members outside the party.

Nevertheless, I must thank you for the information, and whatever your motive for your inquiry may have been, for myself the information may be of some value.

Under separate cover I am mailing you a copy of platform, and also one of the state constitution in the form of a referendum ballot adopted by referendum vote of the party membership.

Sincerely yours,

R. Krueger,
State Secretary.

Mr. Krueger forwarded a copy of my letter to Local Mt. Vernon, and after some correspondence between the local and the state secretary the S. P. withdrew from the Citizen ticket. Thus the matter at present stands as follows: Mr. Ring, wanted to run and would have run as Citizens' candidate had not an S. L. P. man "budded in" and shown up the compromise of principle. Such is the calibre of that "revolutionary" S. P. They need watching.

I. H. Nosovitch.
Mt. Vernon, Wash., Nov. 24.

VETERAN S. L. P. MAN DIES.

Newburgh, N. Y., December 3.—James McGarvey died yesterday morning at 8:10 o'clock at his daughter's home, Mrs. Walsh, in West Haverstraw. He had been sick for about two years.

McGarvey was one of the pioneers in the Socialist Labor Party, and to his end a staunch supporter of the principles of the organization. He was to the last a member of Section Newburgh, S. L. P., and a constant reader of the Daily and Weekly People. Whenever the party sent out a call for funds, he always responded with his share.

McGarvey will be much missed by Section Newburgh. He leaves two daughters and two sons, and many grandchildren survive him. At his death McGarvey was sixty-eight years old.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

"THEOPHILE," CHICAGO, ILL.—Here is a problem that this office has had to face—

One set of people object to having the light turned upon them; it interferes with their underground work; they would have The People "preach Socialism," and give them a free hand to undermine the organization that does the preaching.

Another set, yourself among them, would have The People spend almost all its space in turning the light perpetually upon these gents, even after they are uncovered and on the run. The People has solved the problem by adopting neither extreme.

E. R. M., MONACA, PA.—Answered above.

A. S., SAN DIEGO, CAL.—The breath in the nostrils of the S. P. campaign was the hurrah it received from the capitalist, especially the Republican press. Without that the S. P.'s vote would have fallen still lower. See the article "We Sail Westward" in Daily People, November 26, and Weekly December 5.

J. J., NEW YORK.—The Union Question is unsolvable? Corruption and fakirs are unavoidable? He who reaches that conclusion has but one intelligent course open—to join the Republican party.

P. A. D., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Thou little knowest of things if thou wonderest at Gompers's unanimous reelection. The Republican capitalists themselves saw to it that he be re-elected. Without a miseducator of the working class, like Gompers, is kept in a prominent position, the top-capitalists cannot keep the proletariat in such a state of economic ignorance as to be stampeded into the top-capitalist's party with the threat of a shut-down if the top-capitalist candidate is defeated.

"S. P. SYMPATHIZER WITH S. L. P.," PHILA., PA.—Brace up! Nothing is lost, all's gained by you, provided you absorb the Marxian principle that Utopianism (visionariness) leads to despondency, and thence to reaction. You leaned upon the Utopian reed of the S. P.; of course despondency followed. Pull yourself together before you land in reaction. Join the S. L. P. Grasp and promote the S. L. P. policy to organize the proletariat upon the economic as well as the political revolutionary field. Despondency! No! The field is white with the crop—for MAN'S work.

W. W., NEW YORK.—Of course Anarchists have a decided partiality for the Socialist party. Pure and simple political ranting furnishes the sap for pure and simple bombastic ranting. Of course Anarchists hate the Socialist Labor Party inveterately. Every crack over the head of pure and simple political ranting resounds in the hollow skull of pure and simple bombastic, and causes it to reel.

A. S., NEW YORK.—The Rand School is not a school that "promotes Socialism," except in the remote sense that the "Appeal to Reason" may be said to "promote Socialism," that is, acquaint people with the name of Socialism, and, if there is anything in them, they look further. For instance, in the Rand School lectures are delivered teaching that "Labor pays the taxes."

T. C., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—If the only recommendation of a "Socialist paper" is that "a beginner gets it and reads it without knowing that it is a Socialist paper he has," then where do all those who are not beginners, and who, the Lord knows, have plenty to learn,—come in? No; what such a paper does is to keep all its readers down in the beginners' grade.

TO POLISH S. L. P. MEN.—From Spokane, Wash., the question comes: "What Polish publication can you recommend? Don't want any sentimental trash."—Who can give the information?

F. D., TURTLE CREEK, PA.—Now to your third and last question—If by religion you understand the Sunday school theory of geology, astronomy and biology—why, yes, Socialism promotes against that all the knowledge it can of the science upon which intellectual progress rests by recommending scientific books. Socialist lectures, however, do not in-

clude these subjects. Socialism belongs to the department of social science.

J. C., PHILA., PA.—Now to your second question—

Yes, the Eugene Sue series, "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," is a series of novels—but historic novels. They are stories grounded on historic facts. Should any one deny the correctness of these, insist that he put his finger upon the alleged untrue historic statement, and you watch that man closely. It will be a revelation to you. Historic novels are valuable aids to history. Books of history do not give the color of the times. Historic novels do.

Another department of history is biography. A valuable department. The delineation of character by such a master hand as Sue is instructive, besides being a treat. The delineation of the historic characters in his series is masterly. The scientific Socialist can only profit by such reading. Next question next week.

D. B. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Now to your third question—

Labor produces \$50,000-diamond and pearl necklaces, exquisite silks, velvets, etc., as well as it produces shoes and bread. Labor consumes shoes and bread, it does not consume the necklaces, silks, velvets, etc., or the bulk of its product. Consequently Labor cannot be exploited, in consumption, on all that it produces. At best it could be exploited in consumption on only a small part and category of its production.

As to whether Labor is exploited in the consumption, besides in the production of the goods which it consumes—no, much the other optical illusion makes things look otherwise. This fact can be appreciated only if the laws of value, price and, inferentially, the law of wages are grasped. Wages is the price of labor-power in the labor market—normally speaking. That price is the residue of what is left to Labor from its own product, after having been exploited in production; and that price represents and is determined, normally speaking, by the value of labor power in the labor-market. If, after the exploitation in production, there could be a separate exploitation in consumption, then labor-power was not bought at the market price, and then what happens in consumption would not be "exploitation." It would be "gouging"—not an economic, but a physical, and, therefore, arbitrary, process. The difficulty to perceive that exploitation takes place in the shop only, and the optical illusion of exploitation taking place in consumption also, is what free traders and tax-reformers generally play upon with their flim-flam of cheaper goods.

Next question next week.

C. M. T., CENTRAL FALLS, R. I.—In 1898 the S. L. P. candidate in the 16th Assembly District of this city had over 2,300 votes—close to election. In 1899, the Kangaroos, that is, the present runners of the S. P. here, set up Hillquit against the S. L. P. candidate in the district. Hillquit failed to get the necessary number of signatures on the petition for nomination, and his name did not appear on the ballot, but his fellow Kangaroos set up their stands all over the District urging the voters to abstain from voting. Their campaign oratory consisted exclusively of defamation of the character of the S. L. P. candidate. The vote of both parties has since gone to smash in the District.

Next question next week.

T. D. V., MADISON, WIS.—Hard words break no bones. Hence the S. L. P. moves along serenely. Said Johnson to Goldsmith: "My dear Doctor, what harm does it do a man to call him Holofernes?" There is where the S. L. P. has the decided controversial advantage over its adversaries. The S. L. P. never "calls" names; it proves them. Facts break bones—all the bones in the carcass of Error and of Fraud.

G. A. A., NEW YORK.—Substantially answered above to "T. C., Jersey City." Needs only this addition: A Socialist paper that can only "take in beginners" will, at first, unintentionally interfere with further education by keeping all its readers down to the beginner's grade. Next, such a paper will deliberately do the mischief. Interest and vanity step in to force such policy. A common manifestation of such a policy is to slander The People. The begin-

ners, not knowing better, believe. And there you have "beginners" papers raising Chinese walls around their readers' intellects. With what result to these you see. The long and short of the story, or "the moral for Whigs and Tories" is this: A Socialist paper must furnish food for all grades of readers—from the beginners up. That requires something more than a hurrahist.

H. J. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Communicate with L. M. B. Carson City, Nev.

R. K., CLEVELAND, O.—Publication will appear in Daily and Weekly.

A. P., TACOMA, WASH.—Your touching letter will be taken to heart. At the same time, don't you carry your heart on your sleeve for jays to peck at. Let us all be modest, but firm; and firm, but modest—and never compromise with sin. Write again.

P. B., NEW YORK.—Time is engaged up to handle.

ALL OTHERS—Next week.

E. L., NEWARK, N. J.; T. J. B., TORONTO, CANADA; E. W., LEONMINSTER, MASS.; R. C. A., SCRANTON, PA.; R. G., EDINBURG, SCOTLAND; E. J. B. G., MALDEN, MASS.; A. S. C., CHICAGO, ILL.; L. A. A., BUFFALO, N. Y.; B. S. F., CINCINNATI, O.; W. G. A., LONDON, ENG.; H. L., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; L. F., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; E. J. K., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; F. C. R., MCALLISTER, OKLA.—Matter received.

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Paris Commune By Marx.

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An Address by DANIEL DE LEON

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CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtenay,
144 Duquesne Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice—For technical reasons no party
announcements can go in that are
not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

NEW YORK STATE SECTIONS, NOTICE.

Sections in New York State are re-
minded that vote on N. E. C. member
clashes Saturday, December 19, on or be-
fore which date returns should be in.
Fred A. Olpp, Secretary,
N. Y. S. C. E., S. L. P.

GILLHAUS TOUR WESTWARD.

Sections of the Socialist Labor Party
will be notified by Gillhaus personally in
advance of his arrival.

Pittsburg, Pa.
Canton, O.
Cleveland, O.
Detroit, Mich.
Toledo, O.
Columbus, O.
Cincinnati, O.
Louisville, Ky.
Evansville, Ind.
Indianapolis, Ind.
St. Louis, Mo.
Springfield, Ill.
Peoria, Ill.
Chicago, Ill.
Milwaukee, Wis.
St. Paul, Minn.
Minneapolis, Minn.
Duluth, Minn.
Spokane, Wash.
Seattle, Wash.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

GILLHAUS IN DETROIT.

August Gillhaus will speak in Detroit
on December 21 at Hine Hall, 73 Gratiot
avenue, on the question of Socialism.
On December 23 Gillhaus will speak at
Colombo Hall, 235 Gratiot avenue, on the
subject: "Industrial Unionism." Mem-
bers should get local advertising matter.
Workingmen, be present in force.
Committee.

ST. LOUIS THEATRICAL PER-
FORMANCE AND BALL.

Given by the "German Branch" of
the S. L. P. of St. Louis, Mo., on Sat-
urday, December 19, 1908, at Concor-
dia Club Hall 1441 Chouteau avenue.
An excellent programme will be re-
sented, consisting of songs, recitations,
living pictures, followed by dancing.

The headlines will be a one-act
social drama by Richard Koeppe in
German, "Der Trunkenbold" (The
Drunkard). Refreshments of all kinds
served. Tickets, twenty-five cents a
person. Children free. Doors open
at 7:30 p. m. Performance commences
at 8 o'clock p. m. sharp.

All workingmen and their families
and friends are cordially invited. A
highly enjoyable time can be assured
to all.
The Committee.

LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.

The Socialist Labor Party will give
a series of lectures this winter at their
headquarters, 1717 South Broadway,
second floor, St. Louis. Lectures be-
gin at 2:30 p. m.

December 20.—What Do the Social-
ists Want?

January 3.—Trusts.

January 17.—Is Socialism a Dream?

February 7.—Old and New Trades
Unionism.

February 21.—Reform or Revolution?
March 7.—The Difference between the
Socialist party and the Socialist
Labor Party.

March 11.—Does the Socialist party
represent the Interests of the Work-
ing Class?

Discussions after each lecture. Ad-
mission free.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION.

The following five pamphlets will give
the reader the ground work of the prin-
ciples and tactics of the Socialist move-
ment:

1. Socialism.
2. What Means This Strike?
3. Reform or Revolution.
4. Burning Question of Trades Union-
ism.
5. Socialism Versus Anarchism.

The lot with "Course of Reading"
catalogue sent for 25 cents.

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New York City.

The People is a good broom to brush
the cobwebs from the minds of the
workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

M. RUTHER, Manufacturer of Fine
Cigars, Havana, Mass.

XMAS BOX

Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed
find two dollars, my annual contribution
to the People's Xmas Box. Comrades
to the fore!

Fraternally,

Henry Piper.
Henry Piper, Elyria, Ohio \$ 2.00
D. Rudnick, Forest Park, Ill. 30
J. B. Dillon, Marion, Ind. 30

Total \$ 2.80
Previously acknowledged 8.00

Grand Total \$10.80

OPERATING FUND.

Since last acknowledged the following
contributions have been received to this
fund:

B. H. Philadelphia, Pa. \$1.00
Ed. Lewis, Tubenida, Wash. 1.00
W. Skrocki, Vallejo, Cal. 1.50
S. Thompson, N. Y. City. 2.00
E. W. Collins, Spokane,
Wash. 3.50

Total \$9.00
Previously acknowledged 3,316.94

Grand Total \$3,325.94

HUNGARIAN FEDERATION EN-
TERTAINMENT AND BALL.

A grand performance and ball will be
given by the Hungarian Socialist La-
bor Federation, Branch 2, on SATUR-
DAY, December 19, at New Local
Hall, 525-29 East Seventy-seventh
street, between Avenue A and East
River, New York. The benefit is for
the good of "Nepakarat," the official
Hungarian organ of the S. L. P. Music
will be furnished by a first-class Hun-
garian Gypsy band.

All who wish to have a good time
should come along. Tickets of admis-
sion twenty-five cents; hat check
fifteen cents.

TO S. L. P. STATE COMMITTEES.

State Committees who have not made
returns on National Campaign lists
are requested to see to it that all lists,
with the amounts due this office, are
turned in without further delay, so
that the account may be closed.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

OFFICERS ELECTED BY SECTION
CHICAGO, S. L. P.

Section Cook County held a general
party meeting Sunday, December 6,
1908, in Friedman's Hall, corner of
Grand and Western avenues, for elec-
tion of State and County officers and
other party business.

The following officers were elected:
Max Leaderman, State secretary; T.
Davis, E. T. Holmes, Ch. Pierson, A.
Lingenfelter, D. Rudnick, L. Katz,
Gustave Larson, members of Illinois
State Executive Committee.

County Officers: J. Bohinsky, Or-
ganizer; F. Kuchenbecker, secretary;
J. Roth, financial secretary; auditing
committee: Montgomery, A. Lingen-
felter and T. Davis; grievance com-
mittee: Gustave Larson, A. Prince, N.
Reimer; entertainment committee: J.
Roth, A. S. Carm, E. T. Holmes; lit-
erary agent: Ch. Pierson.

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BUSINESS NOTES

Now is the time to build up your
Party's Press. The heralded prosper-
ity which Taft's election was to bring
about is still a dream, and the work-
ingman is wondering where he is at. Ac-
quaint him with the Weekly People.
It is his only source of information
and clarification. It will show him the
snare and delusion he has been made a
victim of. Every Socialist should be
an agitator; every agitator is a sub-
setter.

Those sending in two or more:—

30th and 32nd A. D.'s, New York 2
Louis C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal. 2
Fried Brown, Cleveland, Ohio 2
A. Gillhaus, Washington, D. C. 2
A. Kaucher, St. Louis, Mo. 2
W. Suessbrich, Rockville, Conn. 2
Geo. Wilson, New York 2
M. Engel, San Francisco, Cal. 2
J. A. Stodel, Los Angeles, Cal. 2
Chas. Berg, San Francisco, Cal. 2

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE
WORLD.

General Headquarters, 229 East 39th
Street, New York.

Chas. H. Chase, General Secretary-
Treasurer.

New York, December 3, 1908.

To All Locals and Member-at-Large
of the Industrial Workers of the
World.

Fellow Workers:—
One month has elapsed since the
Paterson Conference set on foot the
movement to bring about the re-es-
tablishment of the I. W. W. upon the basis
of true revolutionary Industrial Union-
ism.

We are glad indeed to be able to
make the following report, which, we
think, gives ample assurance that in
due time the above-mentioned purpose
of the Paterson Conference will be
fully realized.

To begin with, we can report that
through the activity of the fellow
workers in Philadelphia a new local
has been organized there for the I. W.
W. It is a local of Clothing Workers,
about 150 members, and they report
prospects of further organization in
the same industry in the same city.

Of endorsements received since the
Paterson Conference, we have the fol-
lowing: From Local 110, Bakery Work-
ers, Detroit; No. 125, Recruiting Local,
Toronto; No. 8, Recruiting Local, Cin-
cinnati, and members at large in Gar-
rison, Mont., and Plainfield, N. J. Fa-
vorable inquiries and prospective af-
filiation we also have from St. Paul,
Minn., Scranton, Pa., Oakland, Cal.,
Mullan, Idaho, Utica, N. Y., Portland,
Ore., and Pittsburg, Pa.

A cast up of the situation therefore
gives us these new sources of sup-
port in addition to the ten locals which
were represented at the Paterson Con-
ference, and the ten additional locals
which had up to the date of the con-
ference endorsed the call, and whose
communications of endorsement were
read at the Conference.

Our appeal for funds which was sent
out on November 16 has thus far
brought responses in the way of con-
tributions and orders for dues stamps
aggregating \$56.25, as follows: Indus-
trial Council, Detroit, \$10; J. Reese,
Plainfield, N. J., 75c; Local 115, Phila-
delphia, Pa., \$1; H. A. Brandborg, Gar-
rison, Mont., \$5; Local 125, Denver,
Colo., \$2.50; Local 69, Hartford, \$5;
H. B. Simpson, Hamilton, Ont., \$1;
Geo. Anderson, Denver, \$2; Local 125,
Toronto, Can., \$15; C. L. Trainor,
Denver, \$1; Local 58, New York, \$2;
Local 59, New York, \$10; Total, \$56.25.
Which together with the charter fee,
\$10, received from the new Local in
Philadelphia, makes a total of \$66.25.

In the matter of preparation of sup-
plies, we can report that we now have
our charters, dues books, dues stamps,
general and local stationery, and gen-
eral and local seals.

Now to the future: All locals should
bestir themselves, if they have not al-
ready done so, and should prepare to
do some effective work.

They should, in the first place, re-
port to this office at once as to their
membership.

Second—Each local should inform
us as promptly as possible as to just
what sort of agitation or organization
work it is best situated to carry on—
what industry, and what branch there-
of offers it the best opportunity to
begin with. This information is want-
ed at this office to guide us in getting
out propaganda literature. Each lo-
cal should therefore let us know as
soon as possible just what they need
to do the work they intend doing. It
is the plan of your General Admin-
istration, for the immediate future,
until an official journal can be estab-
lished, to send out periodical circulars.

Thos. Hitchens, Fieldbrook, Cal. 4
M. Stodel, New Haven, Conn. 2
C. Nielsen, Seattle, Wash. 2
B. Haug, Philadelphia, Pa. 2
J. H. Juergens, Canton, Ohio 2
Max Stern, Schenectady, N. Y. 4
H. Brandborg, Logan, Mont. 2
H. Ulbricht, Saginaw, Mich. 3
Thos. Grabuski, Lansing, Mich. 2
Christ. Jordan, Troy, N. Y. 2
J. H. Arnold, Louisville, Ky. 2
C. E. Warner, New Haven, Conn. 2
9th and 11th A. D.'s, N. Y., P. P. cards 5

LABOR NEWS.

"A Merry Christmas." How much
more effective is this greeting when
accompanied by a little remembrance.
A Sue book makes just the proper gift.
It is neatly gotten up and is worth its
weight in gold both as a chronology
of historic events and as unsurpassed
fiction. Order in time to escape the
customary post office Christmas con-
gestion.

letter reports of progress, and to use
all funds available to prepare Indus-
trial Union literature appealing direct-
ly to the various trades, industries
and branches of industries, so that
each of our members may be equipped
with the best possible propaganda
matter to carry on the work of awak-
ening and organizing the workers
among whom he is agitating.

Finally, we remind all locals that
they should buy a supply of dues
stamps to put them in good standing.
If they have not already done so—the
proceeds of this, if you respond
promptly, will furnish a fund to send
out the referendum, and to begin the
other work contemplated. As soon as
we hear from you as to the prospects
of accomplishing some organization
work in various localities, steps can be
taken to put some organizers to work
to build up the organization.

Trusting the organization will soon
be making good progress, and appeal-
ing to you all to fall to and do your
best, we are,

Fraternally,
A. J. Francis,
Chas. L. Trainor,
Wm. Glanz,
Herman Richter,
Robert McLure,
C. H. Chase,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Something good for our German read-
ing comrades and friends.

"DER TRUNKENBOLD"
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Ein Drama aus dem Proletarierleben in
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The WEEKLY PEOPLE,

28 City Hall Place, New York.

S. P. RECORD

Is Asked for and Furnished.

[Reprinted by request.]

Columbus, O., October 12.—I wish
you would give instances in which the
Socialist Party accepted for its can-
didates endorsement at the hands of
capitalist parties. Give the names and
dates.

Sherman Wolfe.

[The record of the acceptance by the
Socialist Party of capitalist party en-
dorsement for S. P. candidates is a
long one. Space will not permit giv-
ing the record in its entirety. The
following instances will serve to illus-
trate the conduct of the Socialist
Party, which, claiming to be Socialist,
accepts endorsement at the hands of
the enemy.

In 1900, the Socialist Party, John C.
Smith, ran in the Worcester, Mass.,
district on both the Democratic and
the Socialist party tickets, with the
knowledge, consent and approval of
his Socialist Party organization.

In 1901, the Socialist Party, Morris
Eichmann, ran for office in West Ho-
boken, N. J., on the Republican, the
Democratic, the Citizens' and the So-
cialist party tickets, with the knowl-
edge, consent and approval of his So-
cialist Party organization.

In 1900, two Socialist Party men,
Everett and King, applied to, and got
from, the Democratic Mayor of San
Francisco, Cal., political jobs, which
they kept with the approval of their
Socialist Party organization.

At the elections in November, 1902,
in New Britain, Conn., Geo. W. Klett
ran for Judge of Probate on the Re-
publican and the Socialist Party tickets.

At the same election (1902) in Har-
ris County, Texas, E. H. Vassner ran
for county judge on the Republican,
Independent, Democratic, Populist and
Socialist Party tickets.

At the spring election of 1901 in
Schuylkill County, Pa., the Socialist
Party fused with the Republican party
in Kline township, and with the Demo-
cratic party in Rahn township.

In April, 1903, W. J. Johnson, can-
didate for alderman on the Socialist
Party ticket in Chicago, received the
endorsement of the Municipal Voters'
League, a capitalist organization, and
appeared among the list of the
League's candidates published in the
Chicago "Record-Herald," "Tribune,"
and "Daily News."

At Hartford, Conn., in the municipal
election in April, 1903, among the
candidates of the Socialist Party four
—Martin J. Riga, John Rubenbauer,
August Hartman, and Albert L. Mil-
ler, candidates for Councilmen in the
Seventh, First, Fifth, and Ninth wards,
respectively—are enrolled on the
caucus list of the Republican party;
and not less than five of the Socialist
Party candidates—John J. Fitzgibbons,
Henry F. Bamman, Joseph B. Bran-
gan, Alfred T. Elvey and John R.
Riley, candidates for Councilmen in
the First, Third and Fifth wards,
for Alderman in the Seventh ward, and
for High School Commissioner, re-
spectively—are simultaneously enroll-
ed on the caucus list of the Demo-
cratic party.

These are but a few of the unde-
niable facts in the official and un-
savoury record of the Socialist Party.
On the industrial side of the Labor
Movement its record is equally unsav-
ory.

In 1900, G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis,
afterward a member of the National
Executive Committee of the Socialist
Party, joined the deputy sheriffs of
his city during the St. Louis car
strike.

In Haverhill, Mass., James F. Carey,
Socialist Party man, voted a \$15,000

appropriation for an armory, and de-
clared he would do it again. His con-
duct passed unchallenged by his So-
cialist Party.

There is no act of infamy commit-
ted by the Labor Lieutenants of the
capitalist class against the welfare
of the working class but the Socialist
Party either shuts its eyes or ap-
plauds. Whoever has brains to think
for himself must come to the conclu-
sion that whatever its protestations
the conduct of the Socialist Party
is not that of a party of Socialism.]

A WORD TO THE WISE.

We have procured a few copies each
of the following books, most of which
are now out of print. Cash orders
only will be considered.

Socialism and Modern Science,
by Ferri \$1.00
People's Marx, by Deville 1.50
Critique of Political Economy, by
Marx 1.50

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28 City Hall Place.

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